ANCIENT INDIA

History of Ancient India for 1000 years in four volumes

[*From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.*]

Volume IV

A marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers

By

TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH
L. M. & S.; M. R. A. S.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. — Adhyāy

A. D. / A. C. — After Christ

A. M. / M. E. — After Maḥāvīr : Mahāvīra era

Ante — Before (In foregone pages)

A. V. / V. E. / V. S. — After Vikramāditya; Vikrama era; Vikrama Samvat

B. C. — Before Christ

Cf. = cf. compare

Chap. = Chapter

Dr. = Doctor

e. g. = for example

f. n. = footnote

i. e. = that is

Fig. = figure

Intro. = Introduction

G. E. Gupta era

G. V. S. Gujarat Vernacular Society

Infra = Below

No. : no. = Number

Pref. = Preface

Pro. = Professor

Poste = That follows (In succeeding pages)

P, pp. = Page, pages

Pt. = Part

S. E. Śaka era

Supra = Above

Seq. = Sequel, that follows

Vol. = Volume

Viz. = namely

Vol. / Pt. — Volume or Part of Ancient India

The names of the books that are consulted, cited and quoted

(A)

Books that are abbreviated

A. E. A. E. C.	Ancient Eras (Gen. Cunningham)
A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India (N. Dey)
A. I.	Ancient India
A. S. I.	Archeological Survey of India
A. S. R. I.	Archeological Survey Report of India
A. S. S. I.	Archeological Survey in Southern India
A. S. W. I.	Archeological Survey in Western India
A. R. S. I.	Archeological Report of South India
B. I.	Buddhist India (Pro. Rhys Davids)
Bh. A.	Ashok (by Dr. D. R. Bhāndārkar)
Bh. S. I. Bha. Sam. Itihas	Bhārat-no Sankshipta Itihās (Pro. Balkrishna)
Bh. P. R. Bh. P. R. Bh.	Bhārat-no Prāchin Rājvanśa (V. Rāu)
Bh. P. L.	Bhārātiya Prāchin Lipi-Mālā (G. Ozā)
C. A. I. A. C. I.	Coins of Ancient India (Gen. Cunningham)
C. A. R.	Cat. of Coins of Andhra Dynasty (Rapson)
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India
C. H. S. C. Sh. H. I. C. S. H.	Short Cambridge History of India
C. D. C. I.	Indian Chronology (Mrs. Duff)
E. H. I.	Early History of India (Vincent Smith)
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica
H. H.	The Hindu History (A. K. Majmudar)
H. I. E. A.	History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (James Fergusson)
I. A. Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
I. H. Q. J. I. H. Q.	The Journal of the Indian Historical Quarterly

J. A. H. R. S.	The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J. B. A. S. J. A. S. B.	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
J. B. B. R. A. S.	The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J. R. S. J. R. A. S. R. A. S.	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London
J. B. O. R. S. J. O. B. R. S.	The Journal of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society
J. S. I. S. J. S. I.	The Studies in Jainism in Southern India (Pro. Rao & Ayyangar)
J. S. S.	Jain Sāhitya Samṣodhak (Quarterly)
K. S. S. K. S. S. C. K. S. C.	The Sukh-Bodhini Comments of Kalpa-Sūtra
M. S. E.	Maurya Sāmrājyakā Itihās (Achārya Vidyābhūṣaṇālamkār)
O. H. I.	Oxford History of India
P. D. K.	Pārgiter's Dynastic list of the Kalı age
R. I. S.	The Rulers of India Series (book comprising of)
R. W. W.	The Buddhist Records of the Western World (S. Beal)
S. B. E.	The Sacred Books of the East

(B)

Books quoted but not abbreviated

Abhidhān Chiñtāmaṇi (Shree Hemchandrāchārya)
Achārāng Sūtra
Acta Orientalia
Aiterriya Brāhmaṇ
Amarkosh
Ancient History of the Deccan (G. J. Dubrevil)
Anekānt (Magazine—Delhi)
Analysis of Bhandarkar Institute (Dr. V. S. Sukhathanker)
Antiquities of Orissa (Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra)
Arthaśāstra (Chāṇakya)
Aśok (Rulers of India Series) V. Smith
Aśokanā Śilālekh uper Draṣṭipāt (Vijayendra Sūri)

Āvaśyaka Vṛtti (Haribhadra Sūri)
Ayodhyā Tīrtha
Bengāl, Bihār and Oḍisā ke Jaina Smārak
Bhārhūt Stūpa (Gen. Cunningham)
Bhilsā Topes („ „)
Bhāgavat
Bharateśvar Bāhubali Vṛtti
Bṛhatkathā (Guṇādhya)
Bṛhatsaṁhitā
Buddhiprakāś (G. V. S.)
Ceylonese Chronicles
Chaturvinśati Prabandh
Chāmuṇḍarāy Purāṇ
Dipavaṁśa
Divyāvadān
Gangā (Magazine)
Gāthāsaptasati (Hāl)
Gauḍvaho (Vākpatirāj)
Gujarāti (Weekly—Bombay)
Harṣa Charita
Heart of Jainism (J. Stevenson)
History of Orissā (R. D. Banerjee)
Indian Culture (Quarterly Magazine—Calcutta)
Jagannāth nī Mūrti and Bhārat num Bhaviṣya (N. V. Thakkur)
Jainism in Northern India (C. J. Shah)
Jain (Weekly—Bhāvanagar)
Jain Jyoti (Weekly)
Jain Dharma Prakāś (Monthly—Bhāvanagar)
Jain Yuga (Fortnightly—Bombay)
Jain Satya Prakāś (Monthly—Ahmedabad)
Jain Jāgṛti (Monthly—Ahmedabad)
Jainism (Glazanaap)
Jain Kāl Gaṇanā (Muni Kalyāṇvijayji)
Jain Sidhdhānt Bhāskar (Quarterly, Hindi)
„ Antiquary („ Eng.)
Kalyāṇ (Magazine)
Kanarise dynasty (Dr. Fleet)

Kalpa Sūtra
Kathā Sarit Sāgar (Somadev)
Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions (Sten Konow)
Lokavibhāg
Mahākṣatrap Rājā-Rūdradāmā I. (Sūri)
Mālavikāgnimitra
Mathurā and its Antiquities (V. Smith)
Mathurāno Simhadhvaja (Indravijay Sūri)
Mahābhārat
Mahāvaṁśa
Mudrārākṣasa
Nāgari Prachāriṇi (Magazine)
Pancha Sidhdhāntikā
Pariśiṣṭha Parva
Political History of India (H. Roy Chaudhary)
Prabandha Chintāmaṇi
Prabhāvak Charitra
Prāchin Bhāratvarṣa num Simhāvalokan
Pragnāpanā Sūtra
Purāṇ—
  Brahmāṇḍ
  Mārkanḍeya
  Matsya
  Vāyu
  Viṣṇu
  Yuga
Rājtaraṅgiṇi
Sanskrit and Prākrit rock-edicts of Bhāvanagar State (Peterson)
Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Pro. Williams)
Sārth Joḍaṇikośa (Guj. Vidyāpiṭha)
Sudhā (Magazine)
Samanta Pras-ā-dikā
Sudarśana Vibhās (Translation-from Chinese sources)
Sūtra Krutāng
Svapnavāsavadattā
Uvāsagdaśāo
Vaijayanti (Buddha-Dictionary)
Vircharita (Shree Hemchandrāchārya)

PREFACE

With this volume ends the history of Ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. As stated in the prefaces to the previous volumes, this work is an outcome of a life-time of incessant research work and study. That does not mean, however, that all that is said here is gospel truth. But let none of my readers and critics doubt my sincerity. Infallibility, I do not claim. I would only request my readers to go through the pages of this book with an open mind and give their judgement impartially.

When any novel theory is floated in the field of ancient history, it is but natural that it should be fiercely and relentlessly criticized by all, who have been accustomed to old theories about the same subject. Once our opinion is formed and fixed as regards a point, it is very difficult to change it, no matter how catholic minded we are. Human nature takes time to be convinced. Hence the usual fate of a new theory, inspite of its being supported with a sufficient number of convincing pieces of evidence, is fierce denunciation. When people recover from the first shock of its novelty, they begin gradually to think about it. Then vacillating between distrust and belief, they are at last convinced one way or the other. I am, therefore, not at all surprised at the hot reception that is being accorded to my volumes, which contain nothing, if not novel and startling theories. Novelty as it is, is the very soul of these volumes. I am prepared to wait. I am prepared to be refuted. What I am not prepared for, is any doubt as to my sincerity of purpose. What I am not prepared for, is the insidious suggestion that these volumes have been written, not in the service of history, but in a partisan spirit, with a view to propaganda for Jainism. I request my readers and my critics to judge my volumes on the basis of facts which they present. I invite them to dissect and analyse every point in these volumes. And I request them to be open-minded and impartial.

These volumes are intended for scholars as well as for laymen. Hence, minute details are given in the foot-notes. The book itself

contains a presentation of those things only, which are likely to interest the general reader, for whom also, these volumes are meant. At the same time, advanced students of history will also find much to attract their attention and deserve their notice. The primary motive however, is to initiate the general commonalty of readers into the cowebs of Ancient Indian history and to make them permanently interested in the glorious past of India.

Part IX is connected with the account of the Kuśāna dynasty. The first two chapters are devoted to the account of the Kuśānas in general. The third is devoted to an account of the Western Ksatrapas (Chasṭhaṇ dynasty). Various interesting points have been raised and discussed in this chapter The first chapter contains an account of the origin, chronology and of other matters concerning the dynasty. I have proved that there were two Kaniṣkas as against one. I have also proved that Huviṣka was quite different from Juṣka, which was but another name of Vāsiṣka. Huviṣka was the regent of Kaniṣka II during his minority. When Kaniṣka came to the throne, he allotted a certain portion of his kingdom to him, and established him as an independent king over that region. I have also proved that the Śāka era was begun much later than A. D. 78.

Part X. This part is devoted to the account of the Chedi dynasty. It consists of five chapters. The first chapter begins with an account of the origin of the dynasty and ends with Kṣemrāj. In the second chapter, I have proved that Pusyamitra Śunga florished two centuries after Khārvel and his contemporary Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of Magadh. I have also proved that No. 103 in the inscription belongs to the Mahāvīra era, and that the inscription was erected with a religious end in view. The third chapter contains further details about Khārvel and about the inscription. Chapter fourth is devoted to discussions of the Mahāvijay Prāsād, of famine, of the Jaina idol in Kaling and of the idols at the temple of Jagannāthpuri. Details about Trikaling have been given in Chapter V. There has also been instituted a comparison between Khārvel and Priyadarśin. The chapter ends with the accounts of the remaining kings of the dynasty.

Part XI—Much research work remains to be made about the Āndhra dynasty. We request the scholars to direct their attention to the history of south India. This part has been divided into fourteen chapters. The first four chapters are devoted to the details about race, family, origin, time, number, chronology and titles of the Āndhra king. The next two chapters are about inscriptions by the Āndhra and other kings. The remaining eight chapters contain an account of the thirty kings of the dynasty. The main novel points to which I desire to draw the attention of my readers are:—(1) The dates and parents of Śrimukh, the founder of the dynasty. (2) Whether 78 A. D. is the correct date of the starting of the Śaka era. (3) The connection of the Maitrak, Traikūṭak and Chālukya dynasties with the Gupta dynasty. (4) In ancient times, kings did not fight for political purposes; they fought for religious purposes only. (5) Most of the inscriptions and charity-deeds of ancient times are connected with religion and not with politics, as is mistakenly believed by scholars.

The author takes this opportunity, to thank all, who have helped him, one way or the other, in bringing out these volumes. He acknowledges his debt to various historical treatises, a full list of which is given elsewhere, and to all historians, whom he has quoted in the volumes. He also recognized the services of the translator of these volumes, from Vernacular into English—Prof. R. J. Desai, M. A. of the Dharmendrasinhji College, Rajkot. Last, but not the least, he forwards his thanks to those readers, scholars, and reviewers who have, through love for history, penned something about theories set forth in these volumes.

T. L. SHAH

Pictures in the Book

The pictures are divided in 3 parts (A) General (B) Decorative (C) & Maps. The first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of pictures themselves and the second line indicates the page in the book, on which their description is given. Deficiency of numbers in A division are to be taken as referring to those in B & C divisions.

(A) General pictures

No.	*Page*	*Details*
8 9 10 11	31 46 48 51	All these four portrait-heads, respectively of Kaniṣka I, Huviṣka, Kaniṣka II & Vāsudev I, have been taken from their coins. (Vide .Vol. II, Chapter on coins). The fact that Vāsudev had changed the religion of his forefathers is evident on the reverse side of the coin.
13 14	63 75	Portrait-heads of Chaṣṭhaṇ & his grandson Rūdra-dāman; for their faces, refer to their coins in Vol. II. The reader will see that both faces resemble each other in several respects.
15	29	The idol of Vem Kaḍaphisis II. It shows the body only and gives us an idea of the manner of the royal dress and ornaments (see also below. Nos. 16 & 17).
16 17	29	No. 16 represents the body of Kaniṣka II (we have proved that there were two Kaniṣkas and not only one); & No. 17 that of Chaṣṭhaṇ, as based on the Māṭa idol which has been found out with both of them. The heads in both the idols seem to have been destroyed. It is curious that these two idols as well as No. 15 have no heads. We intended to get the heads represented by an artist, on the basis of details available to us, but the details available are not enough for the purpose.
22	159	Mahāvijay-prāsād-Amrāvati stūpa. Upto 3rd century B. C. the whole region of Dhankaṭak, in which the stūpa is situated was full of Jains, thus indicating that the relics found out from there, belong to Jainism (For further details vide Vol. I, pp. 150-9)
23	165	The trio in the temple at Jagannāthpuri. Though the architecture of the temple resembles that of Bhuvaneśvar (fig. no. 37 below), yet the trio of the idols is an exact prototype of the trio found in the region of Bhilsā Topes (Plate XXII, "The Bhilsā Topes" by General Cunningham). It may be stated here that though the temple is generally accepted today as belonging to the Vedic religion, yet in ancient times it had connections with other religions also.

No.	*Page*	*Details*
26, 27	198	Two foot-prints found out from the excavations near the Amrāvatī Stūpa. For details please refer to the text.
28	167	Signs representing Tri-ratna. Scholars have interpreted them as "The Buddha, the Law and the Order". We have proved that they belong to Jainism.
29, 30	199	These two idols represent Pārśvanāth, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthaṅker. One is single & the other is Chaumukhji. They are found out of the excavations near the Amarāvatī stūpa in the region of Dhankaṭak—Bennākatak. This proves that the Amarāvatī stūpa itself belongs to Jainism. The Madras Government Communique of 30-12-29 states that another tope, resembling Amarāvatī stūpa in shape and size has been found out in the region. Details are given in Vol. I, pp. 149, fig. no. 20 & 21.
31, 32, 33, 34	197 & 198	Nahapāṇ-pillar & Gautamiputra pillar; Tirhut pillar & Sankisā-pillar. Details are given on the pages referred to. This proves that the region—Govardhan-samay—containing the first two pillars and the various caves round about, has more to do with Jainism than with other religions.
35	169	The temple at Jagannāthpūrī, where there is the trio referred to in No. 23. It has three court-yards and has lions at the entrance. In the main court-yard is the Aruṇ-stambha. Details are given in the text on the page referred to.
36	172-73	Aruṇ-stambha (vide No. 35 above). Similar stambhas are found in the Jaina temples (Bastis) in south India. There they are called Mān-stambhas. One of them (No. 38 below) has been given here for the sake of comparison. (The picture has been borrowed from "His. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture".)
37	165-70	The temple of Bhūvaneśvar in the village of the same name. It resembles No. 35 (vide descr. No. 23 above) in many ways. The Hāthīgumfā cave is very near this place.

No.	Page	Details
38	172—3	Mānstambha (vide no 36) It is produced here for the sake of comparison only. For details vide the nevt.
39, 40, 41, 42		The Torans (Front-pieces). Entrance-doors of the Sāñchi, Bhārhūt and Mathurā Topes; and a slab for performing religious rites at Mathurā. For details vide pages mentioned against the illustrations.
43		Priyadarsin's portrait-head. Unfortunately Khārvel's portrait-head has not yet been found out. Both these Jaina emperors have contributed greatly towards the maintainance of their own faith and the uplift of humanity in general.
44, 45, 46		Mathurā-lion-capital pilar; Sāñchi-piliar & the Sārnāth pillar. Even at the first eight, one will see that the pillars do resemble one another, They all belong to & speak of the sanctity of the same faith. For details refer to the place quoted against every one of them.

(B) Decorative pictures

Part IX

Chap. I (Fig. 4, pp. 1) The hilly foreigners and the peace-loving natives of India. They quarreled constantly on account of temperamental differences.

Chap. II (Fig. 7, pp. 30) Kaniska extends his territory to the north of the Himālayas. The Chinese bow down before him. After his conquest he is murdered by an unknown soldier.

Chap. III (Fig. 12, pp. 54)—Conquest of Avanti by Chasthan. He assumes the title "King". His native place for the hilly region of central Asia.

Part X

Chap. I (Fig. 18, pp. 91)—The term "Chedi" is derived from Chhedi or Chhedan" i. e. cutting of the bamboo forests. By a stroke of good fortune Karkaṇḍu is selected for kingship by the female-elephant. Jainism spreads among the people.

Chap. II (fig. 19, pp. 110)—Nand I had wrested the favourite Jaina idol from the forefathers of Khārvel. Khārvel has reconquered it and he **rejoices** in his victory.

Chap. III (fig. 20, pp. 127)—Khārvel pursues the Śātakarṇi king beyond banks of the Kṛṣṇā and defeats him.

Khārvel extends the canal to his kingdom-the canal that was dug by the Nanda king in order to save his people from the effects of the famine.

Chap. IV (fig. 21, pp. 157)—Even during the times of famine, Khārvel devoted his energy to the revival and spread of learning by making provision for the preservation of books. It is believed that the idol which was cause of the quarrel is the same as that of Jagannāth. He got the Amarāvatī Tope erected.

Chap. V (fig. 29, pp. 179)—Chānakya arranges things in such a way that the poison-bodied girl may go to Vakragrīv. The death of Vakragrīv and the conquest of the Mauryas upto Ceylon.

Part XI

Chap. I (fig. 53, pp. 203)—The Āryan kings of the region between the Kṛṣṇā and-the Godāvarī, marry the non-Āryan girls and thus starts the mingling of two civilizations and races. Khārvel defeats Śrimukh and drives him to the South.

Chap. II (fig. 54, pp. 218)—The female-elephant selects Nand IX as the king of Magadh, though he was born of Śūdra woman. The scholars seem disconcerted at this choice.

Chap. III (fig. 55, pp. 239)—Change of the capital. People migrating to the new capital with their bag and baggage.

Chap. IV (fig. 56, pp. 257)—The ruins of Amrāvatī, a large, flourishing and well-fortified city in South India. Priyadarśin defeats and drives off the Śātakarṇi king. Agnimitra desires the help of Patañjali who makes him perform the sacrifice.

Chap. V (fig. 58, pp. 273)—Erection of rock-edicts by the king. The king absorbed in the meditation of the past and its relation to the future.

Chap. VI (fig. 59, pp. 294)—The queen erecting the rock-edicts. Fine arts flourished to a high degree in ancient India.

Chap. VII (fig. 60, pp. 320)—Marriage of Nāganikā. She assumes the responsibilities of the administration, as the heir-apparent is a minor. Śrimukh is going southwards.

Chap. VIII (fig. 62, pp. 355)—The cat-shaped wooden stopper causes the death of the suckling prince. Woe to the cats; foreign visitors to India have praised her in highly eloquent terms. Princess Sanghmitrā's departure to a foreign country for a religious mission.

Chap. IX (fig. 64, pp. 349)—Small rock-edicts were erected by Priyadarśin at places where his relatives had died; prince Tival's murder; king Śātakarṇi befriends Patañjali by paying him high respect.

Chap. X (fig. 66, pp. 361)—Marriage of Agnimitra and Mālavikā. Raising of his own flag, by Ṛsabhdatta (the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ) at the holy region around Nāsik, as a sign of his conquest. Vikramāditya defeats the Yavanas and relieves the people from their persecution.

Chap. XI (fig. 67, pp. 372)—King Śālivāhan was as great a patron of literature as he was brave. He married the princess of Ceylon after conquering that country. He got numerous temples built at Pālitāṇā and raised the religious flag there.

Chap. XII (fig. 68, pp. 384)—A maiden greeting the symbols of the ancient past. The youth rushing expectantly towards the future.

Chap. XIII (fig. 70, pp. 398)—The serpent—prince is infatuated with the beauty of a girl bathing in the Godāvari, and as a retult, a son is born to the girl. The boy is the great hero of the future. The future king Hāl is playing with toys, and is arranging them into military formations.

Chap. XIV (fig. 71, pp. 407)—When a great empire goes to pieces, small kingdoms take their birth and establish themselves as autonomous units.

(G) Maps

Fig. No.	*Map No.*	*Pp. No.*	
25	1	180	Map of Trikaling; showing the territorial extent of Khārvel (according to scholars). As a matter of fact, however, Khārvel's territory extended far beyond Madurā in the south (vide Fig. No. 52, Map No. 7 given below).
47	2	186	Map showing the region of Bhārhūt and Rūpnāth Stūpas. These places are situated on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges. At the Rūpnāth edict, the place where Vāsupūjya-the 12th Jaina Tīrthanker died, Priyadarśin also got the elephant carved out. Champānagarī was also situated in this region, between Rūpnāth and Jabbalpore. For details vide index Vol. II.
48	3	186	Map showing the region around Bhārhūt Stūpa. For details vide indexes Vol. I & II.
49	4	32	Kaniṣka's territorial extent. Excluding Avantī, practically the whole of North India is under his power. The Āndhras also have taken a slice from the Gardabhila territory.
50	5	49	The territorial extent of Kaniṣka II. He granted independence to his chiefs. Thus, Chaṣṭhaṇ became independent, drove out the Gardabhilas from Avantī, and assumed the title "King". Then he defeated the Āṇdhras and forced them to vacate Paiṭhaṇ and retreat to a place far in south India. Hence, there are only two powers in India; the Kuśānas in the north and the Chaṣṭhaṇas in the east and the west. This continued upto the time of Rūdradāman.
51	6	104	Condition of India in the 5th century B. C. Nand I established his empire in north India, and Kṣemrāj established an independent kingdom in Kaling. Nand I tried to defeat him and take over Kaling also, but Kṣemrāj was a match for him.

ANCIENT INDIA

Vol. IV

comprising

Parts IX to XI

Part 9

PART 9

The Kuśāna Dynasty

I	Chapter	Introductory and General Kaḍaphisis I, Kujul Kaḍaphisis II, Vem
II	Chapter	(1) Kaniṣka I (2) Vāsiṣka, Vazeṣka, Zeṣka Juṣka (3) Huviṣka—Huṣka (4) Kaniṣka II (5) Vāsudev I (6 to 13) The remaining petty kings
III	Chapter	The Western Kṣatrapas or The Chaṣṭhaṇa Dynasty (1) Ghṣamotik (2) Chaṣṭhaṇ (3) Jayadāman; Rūdradāman



Chapter I

The Kuśāna Dynasty

Synopsis:—*The Kuśāna Dynasty flourished after 100 A. D. Hence it goes outside the time-limit, that has been fixed for this book; the reasons for including its account in this volume—Details about Hūṇs and Kuśāns as Āryans and the differences between them—Duration of the Kuśāna dynasty and the extent of its territory—a dynastic list of the Kuśāna Kings and their chronological order—Clearance of many misapprehensions.*

The various sects of Kuśāns, their origin and other details about them—The relations between Kaḍaphisis I and the Kuśāns—His political career—Reasons why Kaḍaphisis II has been considered as a foreign prince, though he ruled in India—His conquests and defeats, and details about his territorial extent—His connections with Takṣillā and Mathurā, the two great cities of northern India—The starting of the Kuśāna era.

THE KUŚĀNA DYNASTY

It has already been made known to the readers that these volumes are concerned with a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. For the sake of convenience and clarity, we have treated northern India and southern India as separate entities. As fuller materials are available about northern India, we have hitherto devoted the pages of these volumes to an account of the dynasties that ruled in it. The main bulk of the volumes has been devoted to the Magadha empire and to the Avantī empire, the two largest empires in those times. A detailed account has also been given of foreign princes, some of whom invaded India at various times with a view to plunder the soil, gather the booty and go away, and some of whom invaded her with the intention of making her their future home.

Introductory

Now we turn to southern India; but before doing so, we propose to devote some pages to an account of the Kuśāns. The reasons for doing so are as follows:—(1) A. D. 78 has been taken as the year in which the Kuśāna era was started. This date is certainly within the time-limit fixed for these volumes. (2) My researches tell me that the Kuśāna era had been started much later than 78 A. D.; yet I propose to give some details about these people, because their civilization had a powerful effect on India. (3) The belief that the Āryans of India descended from the Hūṇs (the whites) is gaining ground. These Hūṇs, it is believed, had their home on the north of the Himālayas[1]. Again, it is quite probable that the Hūṇs and the Kuśāns were related to one another by ties of blood.

Let us try to find out whether the Hūṇs and the Kuśāns had any blood-relationship and whether, either or both of them were the ancestors of the Āryans. One of the sects of ancient Āryans was known as Gūrjaras[2]. The theory has been advanced that they came to India from Georgia. The theory is probably based

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(1) Vol. III, pp. 320.

(2) Vol. III, pp. 313 and further.

on the similarity of pronunciations[3]. This province of Georgia was situated in the N. E. or S. E. of Asian Turkey near Mt. Caucasus[4], between the Black Sea and the Caspean Sea. Hence it has been imagined that, that was the original home of the Āryans[5], who, in course of time, began to migrate towards all directions.

Hūṇs and Kuśāns as Āryans

We should here take notice of the fact, however, that this theory has been based on the similarity of pronunciations only[6]. This is reason number one against the theory. Another reason is that the original home of the Āryans has been proved to be in Jambū-dwīp, and that Śākadwīp was the home of the non-Āryans[7]. The region about Mt. Caucasus is included in Śākadwīp and hence it cannot be taken as the home of the Āryans. It is possible that some of the Āryan tribes might have first migrated towards the region about Mt. Caucasus and settled there for a long time and hence the scholars might have called it the home of the Āryans[8]. We have proved that the composers of the sacred books of Hinduism were natives of Śakasthān[9], which is at present known by the name Śeistān, and which is situated in the S. W. of

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(3) Read f. n. no. 6 below for the confusions arising out of the similarity of pronunciations.

(4) Vol. III, pp. 320.

(5) It was once believed that their original home was the region around the Euphratis and the Tigris in Asian Turkey. (F. n. no. 13 below).

(6) The similarity of pronunciations has cut both ways in history. Sometimes it has helped history (vol. III, pp. 236) and sometimes it has misguided it. (Sandrecottus has been wrongly identified with Chandragupta; Ārdra-deś has been wrongly identified with the Ādriāṭic coast, while as a matter of fact it is Arabiā. Vol. I, pp. 19 and pp. 253).

(7) Vol. III, pp. 89. (Further study reveals that the north-eastern region of Arabiā, lying on the south coast of the Persian gulf and the region round about the mouths of the river Euphratis and Tigris must be this Ārdra-deś)

(8) The readers should be clear about the difference between the home of the Āryans and the region which they subsequently occupied. Cf. f. n. no. 10 below.

(9) Vol. III, pp. 92 to 96.

Afgānistān, round and about lake Hamam. Hence, it becomes evident that different tribes of Āryans must have migrated to different regions and settled there[10]. One such tribe must have settled in the region about Mt. Caucasus, another must have settled in the region around the Euphratis and still another in Śakasthān, the home of the composers of the sacred Vedic lore.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the home of the Kuśāns and the Hūṇs. It is generally believed that the Hūṇs lived originally on the other side of the Hindukush-ranges. If these people wanted to come to Indla, they must have first gone southwards, because it was not possible to cross the Hındukush on the north and the west. This region is included in Jambūdwīp (Vol. III, pp. 84 and further). Hence the Hūṇs were definitely Āryans.

Nothing definite is known about the home of the Kuśāns; but looking to the way they came to India, we can definitely state that they must have come from the other side of the Hindukush. The region from which they came may have been somewhere near Asian Turkey or in Khoṭān and Tibet. Certain pieces of evidence led us to the conclusion that some region in Tibeṭ must have been their original home[11]. Certain other pieces, on the other hand, tell us that they must have come from central Asia[12]. This

(10) The place of origin, according to Hinduism, means the revival of a race at a particular place, after the flood.

According to Jainism, origin means the beginning of Ārā after the extinction of the previous one.

The universe has, according to both religions, neither beginning nor end. It ıs eternal.

(11) Read the accounts of Wimā Kaḍaphisis and of Kaniṣka I, given further in this volume. They had a desıre to have blood-relationship with the Chinese emperor.

(12) A specıal appendix has been devoted to Chaṣṭhaṇ in this volume. It has heen proved in ıt that he began his career as a Kṣatrap of the Kuśāns, and that he adopted the Kuśāna era. In short, hıs actions create the impression that he was a Kuśān hımself. In vol. II, pp. 50 to 55, I have stated at several places that he was a Hūṇ. Again, I have stated on the authority of his coins that the Hūṇs came originally from the Asian Turkey. (Vol. II, pp. 50 to 55 and vol. III, pp. 141, coin no. 102). Those theories now require changes.

makes it obvious that the Hūṇs and the Kuśāns had different homes and were thus different from one another. Their homes, however, are included in the ancient boundaries of Jambūdwīp, and hence both may be accepted as Āryans.

It has been stated in vol. III, that the region connecting Jambūdwīp and Śākadwīp is a straight line between the Caspean Sea and the port of Gwāḍer on the Persian Gulf. (Vol. III, pp. 89; see the map there, fig. no. 46, line AB)[13]. Again, it has been already proved that the original home of the Āryans was in Jambūdwīp and not in Śākadwīp. Hence the home of the Āryans must be on the east of the straight line indicated above.

The Āryans migrated towards five different regions from their original home:—(1) the region about Caucasus; (2) the region about the Euphratis and the Tigris; (3) Śakasthān–Śeistān; (4) the N. E. region around Hindukush; (5) and central Asia. Out of these five, the first two regions were situated in Śākadwīp, and the last three in Jambūdwīp. Hence we devote our attention to the last three. Let us now try to find out the region from which they migrated to these five places. It is very probable that their original home was that region of Asian Turkey in central Asia, where are situated the cities of Bokhārā and Murva, and where is also situated the lake Eral[14], the water of which is drinkable and in which flow the rivers Oxus and Āmu. Both the Vedic and the Jaina religions state that Mt. Meru was situated just there. (Vol. III, details about Jambūdwīp, pp. 84 and further). The author of Hindu History (B. C. 3000 to A. D. 1200) states[15]:—" Bactria, now

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(13) Or, a straight line might be drawn from the Caspean Sea to the ports of Basarā and Koveṭ on the Persian Gulf (Vol. III, pp. 91, fig. no. 46 line CD). This, however, does not make much change in the boundary, except that the region about the mouths of Euphratis and Tigris, where Bagdād and Basarā are situated, must be considered as the home of the Āryans (f. n. no. 5 above). (The "Semetic Origin" according to certain scholars).

(14) Sometimes it is known as "A sea" on account of its vast area. Again, two rivers flow into it.

(15) H. H. pp. 628.

Russiatic Turkestan, was our Balhika or Bakshu Desa, a home of the Āryans in central Asia."

In short, (1) The central portion of Jambūdwīp, which the scriptures have stated to have been Meru, was situated in central Asia, about lake Eral[16]; (2) The cities of Bokhārā and Murva are situated in that region; (3) That region was the original home of the Āryans; (4) They migrated towards various directions in course of time.

These are the conclusions at which I have arrived. There may be pieces of evidence going against them[17]; but so far as they are not found out, we may take these conclusions as authoritative.

Hūṇs and Kuśāns

The Hūṇs and Kuśāns were believed to be of the same origin on account of the following reasons:—(1) Little information is available about them; and it comes out of the little we know that the homes of both these people were on the other side of the Himālayas, that both were fair-skinned and that both being warlike, invaded India and consolidated their power over some of her regions. (2) Chasṭhaṇ was taken to have been a descendant of the Kuśāns, because it was proved on the evidence of his coins that their home was in central Asia. The author of Rājataranginṇi has, moreover, stated that Kuśāna kings of Kāśmir, by name Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Juṣka, belonged to "Turushka i. e. Turkish nationality[18]". This makes it evident that the Kuśāns must have been natives of central Asia. In short, the Hūṇs and Kuśāns were believed to be branches of the same people. (3) An idol of Chasṭhaṇ has been found out at the village of Māṭ[19] near Mathurā, side by side with an idol of a Kuśāna king. (4) The Chasṭhaṇas adopted the era that was started by Kaniṣka[20].

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(16) Full details about this are given in vol. III, pp. 88 and further.

(17) I have come across a piece or two of evidence against these conclusions. I have referred to them in the introduction to this volume.

(18) Vol. II, pp. 361.

(19) Read the next chapter.

(20) Read the next chapter.

These four reasons thus lent colour to the view, that both these people were the branches of the same race. Later researches, however, reveal that the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ[21] bear portrait-heads quite different from those on the coins of Kuśāna kings[22]. Again, it is very improbable that the home of the Kuśāns might have been Turkey[23]. Evidence supports the contention that they must have had blood-relationship with the Chinese emperors[24]. Their coins also bear traces of resemblance with the Chinese manners of life.

Hence we come to the conclusion that:—(1) The Chaṣṭhaṇas came from central Asia; (2) The Kuśāns must have come from Tibeṭ or China and must have been closely connected with those people; (3) The Hūṇs must have come from the region of Pāmir and Khoṭān, situated on the other side of the Himālayas, near the Hindukush.

Thus these three foreigners hailed from the hilly and cold regions on the other side of the Himālayas. Hence they must have had certain common traits like strong constitutions, and similar customs. These resemblances might have led scholars to conclude that they had a common origin. Kaḍaphisis I, the Kuśāna chief has been named with Uci[25] as the chief of the five races by historians[26]. These five races may have been (1) Uci of China. (2) Kuśāns who came from the region about Tibeṭ. (3) Hūṇs who hailed from Khoṭān and Pāmir. (4) Chasthaṇas who came from central Asia. (5) The Yonas who were a ramnent of the Bactrians.

Certain details about Hūṇs have been given in vol. III, pp. 318, f. n. no. 21. Those details are repeated below:—"All legends unanimously declare that Mihirkūl was a blood-thirsty demon. The Hūṇs recklessly set fire to fields and villages alike and massacred people in large numbers. They were strong, agile and

(21) Vol. II, coins nos. 42 and from 85 to 90.

(22) Cf. f. n. no. 20 above.

(23) Cf. f. n. no. 18 above.

(24) Read their accounts in the next chapter.

(25) Vol. III, pp. 96 and pp. 263.

(26) E. H. I. 4th edi., pp. 213.

inhumanly cruel. Their voice was shrill, their gestures wild and their appearance ugly and uncivilized. Indians looked at them with terror-stricken and disgusted eyes. They were a race of broad-shouldered, flat-nosed apes with small eyes deep-set in their heads. They did not grow any beard (or very little) and hence neither looked manly when young nor respectable when old." Such descriptions of the Kuśāns and the Chasṭhaṇs are not available. Their coins, however, make it abundantly clear that both of them have little in common with the Hūṇs. This is one more proof that they were different people belonging to different races.

Some details, already proved in the foregoing chapters, require recapitulation here, in order to freshen the memory of the readers.

The duration of the Kuśāna dynasty, and the extent of its territory

It has been already proved that the Kuśāns were at the zenith of their power in the province of Sūrsen in northern India, and that its capital was Mathurā. Below are given, in a tabular form, details about dynasties—both foreign and Indian, that wielded sway at various times over the regions lying between Mathurā and the home of the Kuśāns.

Time	Powers	Regions
(1) B. C. 327 to 317 B. C. = 10 years.	Governors of Alexander the Great.	The Punjāb
(2) B. C. 317 to B. C. 190 = 125 years.	Indian Princes—Jālauk, the son of Priyadarśin and his descendants; and then the Śunga emperors.	The Punjāb, Kāśmir and Sursen.
(3) B. C. 190 to B. C. 70 = 120 years.	The Kṣaharāṭā and the Bactrian rulers; among them, Euthidemos, Demetrius and Menander ruled as sovereigns; and Hagām-Hagāmāśa, Rājuvul, Śoḍās, Liak and Pātık ruled as their governors.	The Punjāb and Sursen.
(4) B. C. 70 to A. D. 45 = 115 years.	Indo-Pārthian king Moses and his descendants, Aziz I, Azilises, Aziz II and Goṇḍofārnes.	The Punjāb and Sursen.

The above given table gives us a clear idea of the powers that ruled over northern India from B. C. 327 to A. D. 45. We have also stated that the Kuśāns reached the zenith of their power in Sūrsen. Again, it has been made quite clear that they were foreigners. We have also stated in vol. III, that they could have come to India only by taking a turn round the Hindukuś; and that in order to come to Delhi or Mathurā, they must have traversed through the Punjāb. The table given above makes it crystal clear that the Kuśāns had not been able to obtain any footing in India upto A. D. 45, although it is quite possible that they might have established and consolidated their power in the border provinces.

It, thus, remains for us to find out, at what time and in what regions, they had established their power before they came to India. For this, we shall have to probe into the histories of Afgānistān, Bactriā and Khoṭān and Tibeṭ, the countries which are situated on the borders of India. Of these four countries, Afgānistān and Bactriā were under the rule of the first three powers stated in the table, upto B. C. 75, thus excluding any possibility of the Kuśāns having established their power there. Let us then turn to the two remaining countries, namely, Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. A historian states[27]:—"Hindu Puranas call them (Kusha-Tochari people) Tushars or Tukharas[28]; of the 13 or 14 Tushara kings, we know the names of only four:—Kanishka, Huvishka, Juska and Vasudev or Vasushka." Mr. Vincent Smith[29] says:—"Formation of five Yue-Chi principalities including Kushan and Bamiah...consolidation of the above five kingdoms into one Kushan empire under Kadaphisis I." This statement of Mr. Vincent Smith clearly gives us to understand that at first the Yue-Chi race was sub-divided into five parts, of which two were Kuśāns and Bamıyāh, and that in course of time these five sub-races united themselves

(27) H. H. pp. 653.

(28) As the names Kaniṣka, Huviṣka etc. etc. are stated here, there remains no doubt about the identity between Kuśāns and Tuśārs.

(29) Vide pp. 293 of E. H. I. 4th edition.

and established a powerful empire, with Kaḍaphisis at the head. Thus, we get some idea of the origin of the Kuśāns and of the names of some of their kings. We, however, do not get any definite information, whether these princes succeeded one another one after the other, or whether any time intervened between them. In connection with this, Mr. Vincent Smith says:—"Destruction of Indo-Parthian power and gradual conquest of north India by Kadaphasis......Kadaphasis I died, & accession of Kadaphasis II...... Kadaphasis II died in cir. B. C. 110 and Kanishka Kushan accession cir. B. C. 120[30]......Thus we see that the first group of kings consisting of Kaḍaphisis I and II and the second group of kings consisting of Kaniṣka, Juṣka and others, belong to the Kuśāna dynasty. Probably the interval between the rules of two groups must have been about ten years[31]. Another writer[32] states:—"Kushan rule in India (45 A. D. to 290 A. D.)=245 years : their two dynasties in India were (1) Kadaphisis dynasty and (2) The Tochari dynasty." We shall later on try to find out whether one group was immediately succeeded by the other or whether there was any interval between the two groups.

We now turn to the question of the duration of their rule. It has been made clear in the foregoing paragraphs that their rule must have been established in India, any time after 45 A. D., but not before that. It was in 45 A. D. that Goṇḍofārnes went away to Persia. Now, it would sound quite possible that the Kuśāna rule was established immediately after Goṇḍofārnes turned his back on India. It would not be wrong, however, to surmise that the rule of the dynasty began about 50 A. D. The rule of the dynasty

(30) This clearly shows that there was an interval of ten years between the two groups. If the writer, however, means B. C., he ought to have stated the second group to have succeeded in 100 B. C. and not in 120 B. C. as he has done. Or, he may have actually meant A. D. and not B. C. in which case the figures given are correct. (An extract for the author quoted in the succeeding page, confirms this latter theory).

(31) Read f. n. no. 30 above.

(32) H. H. pp. 649.

ended, as one of the authors quoted above has stated, in 290 A. D. The same author[33] states:—"The Kushanas held E. India till 280 to 290 A. D. when the Guptas overthrew them". This statement is confirmed by historians who tell us that the Guptas came to India from Nepāl in about 290 A. D., and conquered some portions of northern India and of Magadh and eastern India. Chandragupta alias Vikramāditya I, the third in the dynasty, established the Gupta empire in 319 A. D. Mr. Vincent Smith is of the opinion that the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty in India began in A. D. 120 and ended in A. D. 260. We shall see later on that this contention is not acceptable on many grounds. In short, the rule of dynasty began in 50 A. D. and ended in 290 A. D. i. e. after 240 years.

Their chronology

We shall now try to prepare a chronological list of the rulers of the dynasty. The Purāṇas tell us that there were 13 to 14 kings in the dynasty. Of these, we know names of six, four of which belong to the second group and two to the first group. Hence the remaining eight succeeded Vāsudev, whose name is stated as the last of the first six kings. The founder of the dynasty was Kaḍaphisis I. Mr. Vincent Smith also has called the last eight as "Later Kushan Kings". Hence, according to him,[34] the following is the table of Kuśāna kings:—

(1)	Kaḍaphisis I (cir.)	40 A. D.	78 A. D.	38 years.
(2)	Kaḍaphisis II (cir.)	78 „	110 „	32 „
	Interregnum	110 „	120 „	10 „
(3)	Kaniṣka	120 „	160 „	40 „
(4)	Huviṣka	160 „	182 „	22 „
(5)	Vāsudev	182 „	220 „	38 „
(6)	Other kings	220 „	260 „	40 „

The author of Rājataraṅgiṇi[35] and the author of "Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās" have stated the chronology in the following

(33) H. H. pp. 658.

(34) E. H. I. 4th edi. pp. 293.

(35) Rājataraṅgiṇi, Taraṅg I, para. 74, pp. 76.

manner:—(1) Kaḍaphisis I; (2) Kaḍaphisis II; (3) Huviṣka; (4) Juṣka; (5) Kaniṣka and (6) Vāsudev.

Both Mr. Vincent Smith and the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi hold considerable sway over the students of history as far as the authenticity of the details given by them is concerned. This much, however, may be reasonably stated about the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi, that he being a native of Kāśmir and a writer of old times, his account of the kings of Kāśmir—and the Kuśāns were one of the dynasties that ruled over Kāśmir—may be considered more authentic than that given by Mr. Vincent Smith. Again, he is supported by the author of "Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās[36], though we must also admit that Mr. Vincent Smith is supported by the author of "Hindu History". Curious as it is, however, it must be noted that Mr. Smith contradicts himself in another book of his—"Mathura and Its Antiquities"—in which he states[37]:—"Six bases of Buddha statues inscribed and dated in the regnal years of the Indo-Scythian rulers Huvishka, Kanishka and Vasudev". Thus, Mr. Smith is not sure whether Kaniṣka was the predecessor of Huviṣka or vice versa. The same thing has happened in the case of the author of the Hindu History, who says on pp. 656:—"Kanishka who was probably succeeded by one Vasishka"; and who again states on pp. 658:—"Kanishka was succeeded by Juska,[38] about whom we know very little". The authors of Rājataraṅgiṇi and of "Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās" do not thus contradict themselves, and hence should be considered more authoritative. Mr. Smith, however, is an acute student of oriental history, and his statements are based on the irrefutable evidence of inscriptions. Hence, it would not be proper to set them aside as incredible. Hence, in order to find out a via media between these two authorities, we might suggest the following solutions:—

(a) There were two Kaniṣkas instead of one; one of them was succeeded by Huviṣka and the other was succeeded by Vāsudev.

(36) M. S. I. pp. 654.

(37) Vide the same book, printed at Allahabad in 1901, pp. 3.

(38) By Juṣka, he really means Huviṣka, because the account given on pp. 656 to 658, refers to Huviṣka.

(b) Juṣka may be taken as another name for Huviṣka[39]; or he may be placed between the two pairs, and thus we might have:—Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Juska; Kaniṣka; and Vāsudev as the order of succession.

Of course, these are only tentative solutions which have yet to be proved on the basis of reliable evidence. The chronological list, based on the authority of the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi, is as follows:—(1) Kaḍaphisis I; (2) Kaḍaphısıs II or Vımā Kaḍaphisis; (3) Kaniṣka; (4) Juska; (5) Kaniska; (6) Vāsudev and then seven or eight kings whose names are not yet known. This list may be accepted as the most reliable one, as long as we cannot arrange another on the basis of sound facts.

Difficulties in the acceptance of the above given list and their solutions

(1) On pp. 162 of "Kharosthi Inscriptions" by Sten Konow, *it has been stated in connection with the inscription near the* village named Ārā --"Mahārājasya Rājatirājasya Devputrasya Kaisarasya Vazeṣkasya Putrasya Kaniskasya"="Of Kaniṣka, the son Kaisara Vazeṣka[40] Emperor Devaputra". In the list given in the above paragraph, we find, on the other hand, the following order of succession: No. 3 Kaniṣka; No. 4 Juṣka; No. 5 Kaniṣka. This means that the second Kaniṣka must either have been the son of Juṣka or related to him in some other way. If we accept the relation of father and son between them, then, as Juṣka is considered to be but another name of Huviṣka[41], it follows that Kaniṣka was the son of Huviṣka and not of Vāsiṣka as stated in the extract from the inscription, quoted above. If we accept any other relation between them, then the question will be:—"Who was Vāsiṣka, whose name is stated in the inscription referred to above ? and why has his name not been included in the list by the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi ? (Is it possible

(39) See f. n. no. 38 above.

(40) It follows that Kaisar was another name of Vazeṣka. Cf. this with the account of Kanıṣka II in the succeeding chapter.

(41) See f. n. no. 38 above.

that Juṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsiṣka were the names of one and the same individual ?)

(2) In the chronological list mostly accepted for the Kuśāna dynasty, Kaniṣka has been stated as the successor of Kaḍaphisis II. This makes it possible that the relation between them must have been that of father and son. This also gives rise to difficulties similar to those stated in No. I.

(3) In the Ārā inscription, referred to in No. 1 above, Vāsiṣka seems to have connected with his name the title "Emperor". This shows that he was a regular king and as such, his name should be included in the chronological list of the Kuśāns.

(4) An inspection of all the rock-inscriptions of Kaniṣka makes it clear that number 3 has been the smallest number connected with his name[42]; and sixty is the largest number connected with his name[43]. This shows that Kaniṣka was at least on the throne for 57 years[44]. A glance at the dynastic list of the Kuśāns will show that no king of that dynasty ruled for more than 40 years. It is possible that Kaniṣka might have been appointed as a minor and with some one as the regent.

(5) If we study the inscriptions in which the names of Kuśāna kings are mentioned, we find a different story about their order of succession and chronology. The time of Huviṣka[45] is included in the 57 years stated for Kaniṣka in No. 4. Again Huviṣka is also described as an "Emperor" in these inscriptions, showing that he was also a regular Kuśāna king and that he

(42) O. H. I. pp. 131, see the inscription of Sārnāth.

(43) O. H. I. pp. 131, see the inscription of *Mathurā*.

(44) Nos. 41 and 60 are also found in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka, bearing the title "Emperor". Similarly nos. 33 to 60 are connected with the name of Huviṣka. (See f. n. nos. 45 and 46 below).

(45) O. H. I. pp. 139, about which, Mr. Vincent Smith states in 'Mathura and Its Antiquities':—"Huvishka's years overlap those of his predecessor from the year 33 to the year 60 of Kanishka's regnal era".

Read f. n. no. 46 below.

cannot be set aside as a mere general of Kaniṣka[46]. How to find a solution to the difficulty is a great puzzle.

(6) The dates of Vasiṣka and Kaniṣka are also found to overlap one another.[47] Vasiṣka, as we have already seen, is also described as "Emperor"[48]

A solution to all these difficulties would be to arrange the order of succesion which is at the end of pp. 12. An article in a journal lent much colour to this view.[49]

We now turn to arranging the chronological list of the Kuśāns. We start with the year in which Kaniska I ascended the throne. We have shown above[50] that he came to the throne in 103 A. D.

A chronological list of the Kuśāns

We know that two kings preceded him. Kaḍaphiśis I, first established his power over a region on the other side of the Hindukuś.[51] He was the first Kuśāna chief. We have stated in Vol. III, that Goṇḍofārnes left India for good in A. D. 45, in order to occupy the Persian throne, which had fallen vacant at the time[52]. Hence up to 45 A. D. Goṇḍofārnes was

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(46) See the inscription of Varadak. no. 51 is stated there; no. 60 is stated in the inscription of Mathurā.

Cf. f. n. nos. 44 and 45 above.

(47) Cf. f. n. no. 48 below.

(48) Comparing the details given in:—(a) the inscription of Ārā referred to in no. I above; (b) no. 24 in the inscription of Isāpur; (c) no. 28 in the inscription of Sāñchī (though the name "Vazeṣka" is only half-mentioned there); and (d) no. 28 in the inscription of Mathurā, we find that all these dates are included in nos. 3 to 60 of Kaniṣka.

(49) Vide "Sudhā", a Hindi Journal, V. E. 1990, Mārgaśirṣa number, "Mathurā kā Yagniya Stambha"; by Mr. Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl, M. A., LL. B. I am not quite definite about the number of pages, as I came across a very soiled copy of the journal.

(50) Vide pp. 448, vol. III.

(51) Read the paragraph above, about the Āryan origin of the Hūṇs and Kuśāns.

(52) Vide his account in vol. III,

the master and ruler of the Punjab, Afganistan, and all the regions situated between Sūrsen and Persia. Hence the power of the Kuśāns was established over India, any time between 45 A. D. and 103 A. D.

Most historians agree that Kaḍaphisis I ruled for 40 years and Kaḍaphisis II ruled for 32 years. It often happens, however, that the view of the majority is not always the correct view, unless it is based on the evidence of coins and inscriptions[53]. The dates given above have no such foundation; though we accept them for the present. Some historians are of the opinion that there was an interval of ten years between the death of Kaḍaphisis II and the accession of Kaniṣka I[54]. This means that Kaḍaphisis must have established his power in India between 82 years and 103 A. D., the year in which Kaniṣka I came to the throne. So fas as my information goes, however Kaḍaphisis II was immediately succeeded by Kaniṣka I, and that there was no interval there. This theory is supported by the following facts: An idol of Kaḍaphisis II, represented as sitting on a throne has been found out in a village named Māṭ which is 14 miles away from Mathura[55], thus making it clear that that region was under his rule.[56] Again the idol of Kaniṣka and of Chaṣṭhaṇ[57] has been found out in the same region. This shows that Kaniṣka I

(53) Scholars are unanimous about many points in the lives of Aśoka and Priyadarśin. As evidence based on coins and inscriptions, however, is wanting, we cannot be definite about those theories inspite of the unanimity among scholars. Hence, when such evidence is found out, these theories are disproved. (Vide vol. II, the account of the Maurya dynasty).

(54) See the dynastic list on pp. 11.

(55) It is proved that the power of Kaḍaphisis II must have extended upto this region only. He may not have been able to conquer Mathura. Or, he may have died while carrying an invasion over Mathura. (Read f. n. no. 56 below; and his account given later on).

(56) It is also possible that the area of Mathura in those times must have been very large. Māṭ may have been a suburb of Mathura. This, however, is not very probable. Vide the account of Kaniṣka I.

(57) This proves that Chaṣṭhaṇ was connected with the Kuśāns. Vide chap. III for his exact position with them.

was the immediate successor of Kaḍaphisis II, because there can be no possibility of an interval between the two kings,—of the kings of the same dynasty—ruling over the same region, as is shown by their idols, unless there was an interregnum[58] of foreign rule between the two. Now, no such interval of foreign rule seems to have followed the death of Kaḍaphisis. Had there been any, the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi would certainly have mentioned it. In short, we come to the following conclusion regarding the dates of first two Kuśāna kings:—

(1) Kaḍaphisis I, 40 years A. D. 31 to A. D. 71[59].
(2) Kaḍaphisis II, 32 years A. D. 71 to A. D. 103.

Now, we turn to the dates of the kings of the second group. In the inscriptions of Kaniska the following numbers are stated:—No. 3 in Sārnāth; no. 9 in Mathurā; no. 18 in Māṇikyāl; no. 41 in Ārā. As regards the dates of Vāsiṣka, we find no. 24 in Isāpur and no. 28 in Sāñchī (?) and no. 29 in Mathurā. The least no. for Vāsiṣka, being 24, and he being the immediate successor of Kaniṣka, and he having connected the title "Emperor" with his name in the inscriptions, we come to the conclusion that Vāsiṣka came to the throne in the 24th year of the Kuśāna era, which was started by Kaniska in the year in which he came to the throne. Hence Kaniska I must have ruled for 23 years, and no. 41 in the Ārā inscription referred to above, must be taken in connection with Kaniṣka II. Vāsiska must have ruled from 24 to 29, i. e. for six years[60].

We now turn to the remaining kings. In the inscriptions of Huviṣka we find the following numbers:—No. 33 in Mathurā; no. 51 in Vardak; and no. 60 in Mathurā. Of these the last two are connected with the title "Emperor", while the first has no such

(58) Vide pp. 345 of vol. III for similar events.

(59) J. I. H. Q. Vol. XII. Prof. Sten Konow, pp. 29—"Kujula Kadphesis must have been a young man in A. D. 45. (N. B. He is of the opinion that he was born earlier than A. D. 15).

(60) A doubt is raised on account of one inscription; it does not seem, however, to be of much importance. Read f. n. no. 61 below.

title connected with it[61]. This shows that Huviṣka bore no title from 29 to 33 and that he bore the title "Emperor" at least from 51 to 60. We cannot say exactly when he assumed that title between 33 and 51. In connection with Kaniṣka the second, we find that the title "Emperor" is connected with his name in 41 in the Ārā inscription and 60 in the Mathurā inscription. This means that Kaniṣka II must have assumed the title "Emperor" at least in 40[62]. Thus Huviṣka ruled from 40 to 60 and was without any title from 29 to 40. Again Kaniṣka II ruled from 40 to 60 at least. We will show in his account that he ruled upto 95, because an inscription has been found out from Mathurā bearing no. 98 and the name of Vāsudev, the successor of Kaniṣka II. Again, there are reasons to believe that this inscription was carved a short time after his accession to the throne. He may have ascended the throne in 93, and many scholars hold the opinion that he ruled for 38 years. Thus Kaniṣka II ruled from 40 to 93 = 53 years, and Vāsudev ruled from 93 to 131 = 38 years. Seven or eight kings succeeded Vāsudev, but we do not have any information about the durations of their reigns. It has been proved that the Guptas defeated the Kuśāns and established their own empire over the same territory. The Gupta dynasty is proved to have begun to rule from A. D. 275 to A. D. 290, which gives us to understand that the Kuśāna dynasty ended in about 280 A. D. (i. e. 177th year of the Kuśāna era. The last seven or eight kings ruled for 46 years in the aggregate.

Below is given a proved chronological list of the Kuśāna kings:—

(61) It is said that an inscription has been found out mentioning no. 28 with Huviṣka bearing the title "Emperor". This is not possible because in a Mathura inscription no. 29 is distinctly connected with Vasiṣka bearing the title "Emperor".

(62) Upto this time, the whole territory was under the power of one ruler, who called himself "Emperor". From hence, the territory was divided into two parts, under the powers of two different rulers. Huviṣka had very small territory under his power, while Kaniṣka II had a very large one. Hence he also assumed the title "Emperor".

	A. D.		A. D.		Years	Kuśāna era		
(1) Kaḍaphisis I[63]	31	to	71	=	40	—		—
(2) Kaḍaphisis II	71	to	103	=	32	—		—
(3) Kaniṣka I	103	to	126	=	23	1	to	23
(4) Vāsiṣka	126	to	132	=	6	23	to	29
(5) Huviṣka								
without the title	132	to	143	=	11[64]	29	to	40
Emperor[65]	143	to	163	=	20	40	to	60
(6) Kaniṣka II	132	to	143	=	11[66]			
	143	to	196	=	53	40	to	93
(7) Vāsudev	196	to	234	=	38	93	to	131
(8–14) Seven kings	234	to	280	=	46	131	to	177
					249			

Thus the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty lasted for about 249 years. There were 14 kings in the line. During the years 40 to 60 two kings held the title "Emperor".

More details about Kuśāna race

When emperor Priyadarśin visited Nepāl, he also invaded Tibeṭ and conquered it. He had appointed his son as the ruler there. On his return journey, he conquered Khoṭān also and included it within the kingdom of his son. Then he conquered Kāśmir[67] and appointed his son Jālauk as the ruler there. All these things have

(63) We have here stated that Kaḍaphisis I ruled for 40 years and Kaḍaphisis II ruled for 32 years. We can, however, interchange these numbers. The matter is discussed in details in the account of Kaḍaphisis II.

(64) Read f. n. no. 65 for details as to who was "Emperor" for these 11 years.

(65) Vide the account of Kaniṣka for his position during the rule of Huviṣka for 11 years.

(66) For an explanation of this, vide the account of Huviṣka. It is explained there, why from 143 to 163, two kings simultaneously held the title "Emperor", and why the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi has mentioned the name of Juṣka separately.

(67) The author of Rājataraṅgiṇi states that Kāśmir was inhabited by the Mlechchhas at this time. (Vol. I, verse 107, which is quoted in our vol. II, pp. 361). The translation is, "As the countries were overrun by the Mlechchhas etc." [N. B. A Mlechchha means a non-Āryan.]

been told in details in vol. II, where his account is given. Thus these regions had become the homes of Saṁvrijī-Lichchhavī kṣatriyas. This was the first instance of the Āryans emigrating to foreign countries. One historian[68], however, says:—"The connection of Asoka with the ancient Khotan kingdom, appears to have been close[69]. It is said that Aśoka had banished some nobles of Taxilla to the north of the Himalayas as a punishment for their complicity in the wrongful blinding of Kunala. One of the nobles was elected king who reigned till he was defeated by a Chinese rival". No doubt the historian differs from our point of view. The extract is, however, quoted to shed some light on the time of Priyadarśin and on the Chinese rival[70]. We have proved in vol. II that by "Aśoka" in the above extract, the writer really means "Priyadarśin". It is possible that the Kuṇāl–incident may have been incorporated in order to provide some reason for Aśoka's son going there, because Kuṇāl lost his eyes in Avantī of which he was the governor. Hence the persons who might have been guilty of complicity in the crime of Kuṇāl's blindness, must have belonged to Avantī, and not to Takṣillā *. Again, no shred of historical evidence can be brought forward to prove that Kuṇāl ever visited either the Punjāb

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Sometimes the term "Yavan" is mixed with the term "Javan" and thus confusion becomes worse confounded. Read vol. III, pp. 101, f. n. no. 1 in this connection, and also pp 103 of the same volume. Hence by "Mlechchha", the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi means "Yavanas". These Yavans (Greek) and Yonas (Bactrians) had different civilization from the Āryan one at that time. The people of Turkey (Central Asia) and of Khoṭān had civilization akin to the Āryan one. Hence the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi has considered them to be Āryans. The Kuśāns, though they are considered foreigners in a way, were Āryans from the view–point of civilization, and followed a religion which had much of Āryan culture in it. (Chaṣṭhaṇ was closely connected with them. We shall discuss it later on).

(68) H. H. pp. 530 by Mazmudar.

(69) Cf. f. n. no. 71 below.

(70) It may be possible that this Chinese chief might have defeated Dāmodar, the son of Jālauk or any descendant of Dāmodar. (F. n. no. 71 below).

* I have now come across a reading where Takṣillā is said to have been another name for Avantī. [Vaijayanti (A Budha dictionary) pp. 156].

or Takṣillā. Hence the possibility of the people of Takṣillā migrating to Tibet or Khoṭān is very remote. For our purposes, however, it is enough to state that some Āryan tribes migrated to Khoṭān[71] during the rule of Priyadarśin. Shortly after this hordes of U-ci people of the Chinese origin[72] also over-flooded Khoṭān, and began to establish and consolidate their power over Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. Hence Khoṭān became conglomeration of five different races:—(1) U-ci of China; (2) The natives of Khoṭān; (3) The Tuṣārs[73] who came from central Asia and to which Kaḍaphisis belonged; (4) The Lichchhavī kṣatriyas who had emigrated from India; (5) The Mlechchhas of Kāśmir[74] whom some have mistakenly called Javanas[75]. A Tuṣāra chief, by name Kaḍaphisis, united these five races and established his power over the whole region[76]. This makes it clear that most of the subjects of Kaḍaphisis were of Āryan origin. Indeed the Mlechchhas were the only non-Āryans[77].

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(71) Cf. f. n. no. 69 above.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 70 above. We have stated in vol. III, pp. 96 that the portion which was advancing eastwards was obstructed by sea on that side, and so turned westwards and came into contact with the races who had settled in Khotān. The U-cis seem to have originated from this contact.

(73) Pp. 10, f. n. no. 32. Read the extract quoted there from H. H. pp. 649.

(74) Jālauk had driven out all the Mlechchhas who had settled there. Some Mlechchhas had, however, settled in Bactriā, and later on some of them emigrated to Kāśmir.

(75) H. H. pp. 505.—"The word Javana (applied to Turks or Mahomedans) is often wrongly confounded by scholars with Yavan (the Greeks)". Vide vol. III, pp. 101, f. n. no. 1.

[N. B. The Yavanas can neither be called Turks nor Mahomedans, because Islām as a faith originated in A. D. 611.

In vol. II, pp. 62 and f. n. no. 54, I have suggested that there ruled a Jaina king even in Arabiā. Vide the account of Gardabhīla Vikramacaritra, pp. 390, f. n. no. 90. It was a suggestion which might have astonished many readers. Now all details about the Gardabhīla kings are known to the readers. It will also be proved that the Kuśāna kings were not only Āryans but Jains.]

(76) Vide vol. III, pp. 263.

(77) Read f. n. no. 75 and especially the note by me.

The remaining races hailed from areas which were situated in Jambūdwīp.

In a way, we can affirm that Kaḍaphisis I has not ruled over in any part in India. We have thought it proper to give some details about him because:—(1) He was the founder of the dynasty and (2) his coins are found in the Punjāb.

The Kuśāns as well as the Hūṇs, whose chiefs named Tormāṇ and Mihirkūl have become famous in history, came to India from the other side of the Himālayas. The Hūṇs being natives of hilly regions were white in complexion. The Kuśāns also hailed from cold, hilly regions, and were probably of a fair complexion. As scanty information is available about both the races it was commonly believed by scholars that they were two branches of the same family or that they were closely connected with each other. On further study of facts regarding them, we find that these two races had very little connection with each other. We have already given details about the main characteristics of the Hūṇ race in vol. III. We have now at our disposal the coins of Kuśāna chiefs also. These coins bear their portrait–heads. A scrutiny of these coins will convince us that the Kuśāns had little in common with the Hūṇs.

The relation between Kaḍaphisis I and the Kuśāna dynasty

Who were, then, Kuśāns ? We have said that a certain Kuśāna chief united five different races that dwelt in Khoṭān and established his power over them. It should be noted, however, that none of those five races bears the name Kuśān. Scholars have advanced no reason why that chief was called a Kuśān ?

This question necessarily requires further investigation. An idol of Vem alias Kaḍaphisis II has been found out in Māṭ, a village near Mathurā. The following words are inscribed on it:— "Mahārāj Rājātirāj Devaputra Kuśān–putra Śāhīvem". This means that Vem calls himself the son of Kuśān. This does not necessarily mean that he belonged to the Kuśāna race. We can deduce the meaning that his father's name was Kuśān, whom we recognize as Kaḍaphisis I. If it is definitely proved that his name was Kuśān, it would not be unreasonable to come to the conclusion that the

name of the dynasty originated from him, he being the founder of the dynasty. This makes it clear that Kuśān is the name of an individual and of a dynasty, but not of a race, the name of which we may take to have been "Tuṣār" for the present. So many dynasties have derived their names from that of their founders. The Śiśunāga dynasty owes its name to its founder, king Śiśunāg, and so do the Nanda, the Gardabhīla and many other dynasties. This theory is supported by Sir Cunningham[78], who states that on the coins of Kaḍaphisis, there are the words "Kujul Kaḍaphisis". The term Kujul[79] is of Kharoṣṭhī origin, and the Greek equivalent to it is Kozolo, which means a Ksatrap. Thus Kaḍaphisis was a Kṣatrap of some emperor. A glance at the account of Kaḍaphisis, given later on, will convince the reader of the truth of the theory. Probably the Kuśāna chief was a general of some powerful Chinese emperor[80].

Let us now turn to a study of his coins. We are not yet certain whether his power was established over the Punjāb or not. Of course, his coins are being found out there, but this cannot be a certainty of his having ruled over it, because his son who established his power over the Punjāb, may have put his father's coins into circulation[81]. Mr. Mazmudār, on the authority of the Purāṇas, comes to the conclusion that Kaḍaphisis I did not rule over any part of India. He says[82]:—"The Puranas mention 8 Greek rulers of India". This statement seems to have been made in connection with the time when the Mauryan empire fell and the Shungas established their power over Avanti. Hence the term "Greek" means all foreign rulers. The eight rulers in question may have been:—(1) Demetrius, the son of Euthidemos, who though he invaded India did not settle here like his son. (2) Menander;

(78) Vol. II, pp. 120, coin no. 85.

(79) I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 27.

(80) F. n. no. 68 above, "He was defeated by a Chinese rival".

(81) Read details about his coins (Vol. II, pp. 120, coin no. 85). It becomes clear from that, that his kingdom extended upto Kābul.

(82) H. H. pp. 552.

then five Inḍo-Pārthian chiefs, namely, (3) Moses; (4) Aziz I; (5) Azilizes; (6) Aziz II; (7) Goṇḍofārnes; and (8) Vem Kaḍaphisis, who ruled in India for several years. His descendants did rule in India, but as they adopted Indian names, they are not considered as foreigners. We may note that in the list of eight foreign kings, given above, there is no mention of Kaḍaphisis I. All these kings lead us to the conclusion that Kaḍaphisis did not rule in India any time.

The rule of the Inḍo-Pārthian emperor Goṇḍofārnes ended in 45-46 A. D. in India[83] (vide vol. III). Kaḍaphisis I, on the other hand, came to the throne in 31 A. D. as we have already seen. His reign ended in 71 A. D. (pp. 17 above). Hence the possibility of Kaḍaphisis I having ruled over India is very remote, because a foreigner like him could not have so soon established himself on the throne left vacant by Goṇḍofārnes. Circumstances, on the contrary, point to the possibility of Goṇḍofārnes having left India only after making proper arrangements for the protection of his Indian dominions and to his having defeated Kaḍaphisis in an encounter. (Vol. III, pp. 263). The names of Kṣatrapas found out from Mathurā—the names which scholars think to be of Pārthian origin[84] seem to be those of the Kṣatrapas appointed by these Persian emperors. These names are three or four in number, and

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(83) H. H. pp. 647:—He died about 60 A. D. This shows that he remained on the Persian throne for 15 years after he left India. For these fifteen years at least, his hold over his Indian dominions must have been firm. Vide vol. III, pp. 263, f. n. no. 65.

(84) C. A. I. (C. J. Brown, M. A., London, 1922). "The deposition of Pecores, successor of Gondopharnes to the Pahlva kingdom of Taxilla, must have taken place between the years A. D. 45 and 64, and was effected by Vima Kadphases, the second Kushan king". This extract makes it clear that it was Vimā Kaḍaphisis who achieved the conquest of the Punjāb and that after the departure of Goṇḍofārnes, his governors managed his Indian dominions. These governors have been mistakenly believed to have been independent rulers by some scholars. The Bactrian chiefs, Demetrius and Menanḍer had also appointed governors in various provinces. No doubt, some of them did try to establish independent power. (Vol. III for details).

hence the Kṣatraps bearing these names must have ruled at least for 25 to 30 years in the aggregate. Hence we conclude that Kaḍaphisis never set his foot in India.

So long as we do not get any conclusive piece of evidence to the contrary, we cannot accept Kaḍaphisis I as the ruler of the Punjāb. For the present, therefore, we shall treat him as a foreign[85] prince.

We have stated in Vol. III, that after the death of Alexander the great, Seleucus Necator and other Greek[86] chiefs usurped parts of his empire. The Yonas, a mixed branch of the Greeks, became masters of Bactriā.[87]. When their power declined, some of the Bactrian territory was annexed by the Persian emperors to their kingdom, and Moses was appointed as the governor over that portion. The eastern part of Bactriā was invaded by a new race which had emigrated from eastern China. We do not know the name of the chief of this race. It is, however, probable, that a descendant of this chief, a hundred years later, appointed Kaḍaphisis I as one of his governors. He established his power[88] over the five different races that dwelt in that region at that time. He also conquered Balkh and Bokhārā, and being a brave adventurer, annexed some portion of Afganistan also. A historian says[89] about him:—"His empire extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus (?) and included the kingdoms of Bokhārā and Afganistan. He died at the age of 80, after a vigorous reign."

He ruled for 32 years from 71 A. D. to 103 A. D. (pp. 17). Of these 32 years, for the first 10 or 11 years he ruled outside

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(85) H. H. pp. 505:—"The Greeks were Aryan colonists of the Mediterranean islands, called the Ionians. The Hindu tradition makes them of Hindu origin, being the descendants of Turvasu, a rebellious son of Yayati. It is said that these Yavanas gradually marched towards the West. Greek Ionian and Hindu Yavan is the same word".

Cf. vol. III, pp. 236, where is given a comparison between the words of Greek and Persian origins.

(86) Read f. n. no. 85 above.

(87) For the distinction between Yona and Yavana, vide vol. II, the account of Priyadarśin. Vol. III, pp. 101 & seq.

(88) Pp. 21 above.

(89) H. H. pp. 650-651.

India. For the rest of time, he ruled in India and held the title "Emperor". Hence his account should have been included in the next chapter, which contains an account of Kuśāna kings who ruled over India. His successor Kaniṣka, however, started the Kuśāna era. So, a distinct period begins in the rule of the dynasty with the accession of Kaniṣka I. That is the reason, why the account of Kaḍaphisis II is given in this chapter.

Vem Kaḍaphisis II

Vem Kaḍaphisis was brave and adventurous like his father. He ruled for 32 years and died at the age of 80. A writer, however[90], quotes Cunningham as follows:—"Cunningham gives 35 to 40 years' long[91] and victorious reign to this monarch." We have given below reasons why we differ from Sir Cunningham in this matter.

The Gardabhila king, Vikramacharitra (Vol. III, pp. 336) ruled for 40 years from A. D. 53 to 93. He had conquered all the provinces including Kāśmir, and had appointed Mantrigupta as the governor there. (Vol. III, pp. 389). This means that upto 93 A. D. Vem Kaḍaphisis must have remained outside India, either for 22 years after his accession to the throne, if we accept that his reign lasted for 32 years, or for 30 years, if we accept that his reign lasted for 40 years. We know that his father's kingdom extended upto Kābul. Hence, he also must have limited himself upto Kābul for a number of years after his accession. If we can find out, for how many years he thus confined himself within the limits of his father's kingdom, we might get a clue to the solution of the problem at hand. In this connection, a writer[92] says:—" It is stated in the inscription near the village named Khalatsa, which is in the vicinity of Ladakh, that emperor Vem Kadaphisis lived in the year 187." This means that at that time Vem Kaḍaphisis called himself Emperor[93]. The number of the year shows that he had not started his own era, but that he had adopted the era of some one, either an honoured

(90) H. H. pp. 652.

(91) Read f. n. no. 63 above.

(92) Read "Sudhā" a journal published in northern India. V. E. 1990, Mārgaśirṣa number, pp. 5. The article is written by Mr. Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl, M. A., LL. B. "Mathurā kā Yagniya Stambha".

(93) Vol. II, coin no. 86. There also we find him holding the title "Emperor".

ancestor or a greater king, under whose vassalage he must have been[94]. Now the number does not seem to refer to any honoured ancestor in the dynasty, because it was his father who started the dynasty, not more than 60 to 70 years ago. Hence the only conclusion to which we can come is, that the number must have belonged to the era of a ruler under whose tutelage Kaḍaphisis II was. We have already stated above, that his father had established his power over the five races in a territory, which was a portion of the dwindling Bactrian empire, a portion of which was annexed by the Persian emperor, who had appointed Moses as governor over it. The eastern portion of the same empire was conquered by a general of Chinese origin. All these events took place in about B. C. 110 to 115 (Vol. III, pp. 314). If we add 187 to this year, we come to A. D. 77 in which year, in all probability, Vem Kaḍaphisis II was on the throne in India. This means, that if we accept the 40 year theory, he got the region under his power in the 14th year of his reign, and that if we accept the 32 year theory, he got the region under his power in the 6th year of his reign. On the other hand, it is stated in the Oxford History of India, pp. 146 that during the 9th year of his reign he requested the Chinese emperor to marry his daughter with him. Probably the Chinese emperor took offence at the request, which he took as insulting because it came from a man whose father and who himself were under tutelage, and challenged him to war.[95] The Chinese general inflicted a severe defeat on Kaḍaphisis, who lost nearly 70000 men in the battle[96]. From that time Kaḍaphisis never dared to lift his head against China. He had also to cede his foreign territories like Khoṭān. We should note here that this war with China took place in the 9th year of his reign. But when we find him using the very Chinese era

(94) Scholars have given this number an altogether different interpretation. In the same way no. 78 in a Takṣillā inscription which really belongs to Kṣatrap Pātik, has been believed by them to have belonged to Moses and thus an entirely false interpretation is put on the event. Vol. III, pp. 187.

(95) Cf. f. n. no. 96 below.

(96) Bhā. Sam. Itihās, pp. 231. "He lost 70000 men". H. H. pp. 651.

in the inscription referred to above, we have to come to the conclusion that his relations with the Chinese emperor were all right, upto the year of that inscription. Hence, the date of the inscription must have been prior to the date of his war against the Chinese emperor. This leads us to the conclusion that the inscription must have been prepared during the 6th year of his reign and not during the 14th, which proves that he must have ascended the throne in 71 A. D. and must have ruled for 32 years. (pp. 19, f. n. 63).

The details given above, show that he had conquered a vast territory by his own valour and being proud of his achievements, he had the effrontery to request his suzerain to allow him to marry his daughter[97]. From that time onwards he directed his attention to consolidating his power in India.

After his war with China, he seems to have spent his time in comparative ease and quiet. During these years of respite, he gradually brought the Punjab and Kāşmir under his power. Sir John Marshel[98] holds the opinion that the Kuśāns obtained Taxillā in 60. Prof. Stein Konow[99], on the other hand, says, " Sir-kap[100] (the capital of Khaharatas, Saka and Parthian rulers of Taxilla pp. 2) was sacked by Kushans about 70." These two extracts give us to understand that Taxillā was probably conquered in 60 A. D. and sacked in 70[101]. This number 70 represents the Śaka era which is believed to have been started in 78 A. D., which was then current in northern India and which we shall later call the Kuśāṇa era. We shall, however, prove later on, that this era was started in 103 A. D. Hence Taxillā must have been sacked in 70+25=95 A. D. We have already shown that Mantrigupta, the governor appointed by the Gardabhila king over Kāśmir, ruled in the province upto 93 A. D. Evidently, at the end of the rule of Mantrigupta in 93 A. D., Vem Kaḍaphisis invaded India and

(97) No doubt the Emperor was very angry at the effrontery.

(98) E H. I. Smith, edi. 4th. pp. 272, f. n. there.

(99) J. I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 32.

(100) J. I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 2.

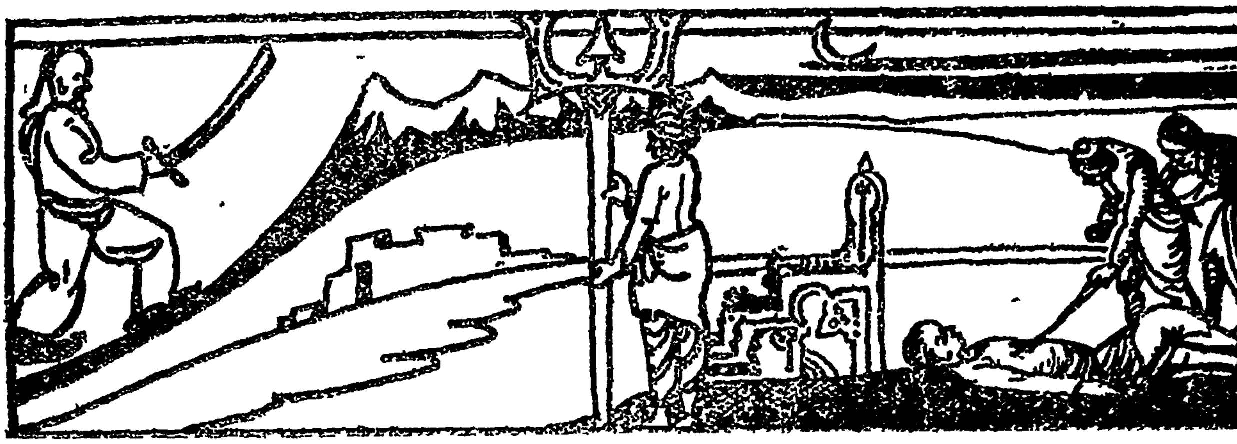
(101) We have given quite a different account of the destruction of Takşillā,

conquered the Punjab and Kāśmir. Then he tried to extend his kingdom step by step, and found his progress smooth, because the two successors of Vikramacharitra were very weak. It is said about him.[102]:—" Kadaphisis next attacked India. All north-west India, as far as Benares (except perhaps Sind) passed to him." It is doubtful whether he came as far as Benāres. Possibly his territory extended upto Mathura, fourteen miles away from which in a village near Māṭ, an idol of his, has been excavated. Probably he did not attack Mathura proper also[103]. Had he done so, some idol or other relic of his would have been found there too. Again, the Kuśāna era was begun during the reign of his successor. This probably means that it was his successor, who became the master of Mathurā. It might be argued that Māṭ may have been a suburb of Mathurā, in which case it must be admitted that he had conquered Mathurā[104]. It may also be said that an idol of his might have been set up at Māt, because his death must have taken place there. His defeat by the Chinese emperor might have caused him to drop all idea of starting an era—if indeed, any such idea he had. Any way, it is quite certain that the Kuśāna era was not started during his time. It may be argued that the era was started during his reign, if we take it for granted that he had conquered Mathurā. All circumstances, however, point to the conclusion that the era was started by his successor and its dating began with the year in which he ascended the throne. Why did not Kaniṣka, it may well be asked, not begin the dating of the era, from the year in which his father ascended the throne ? In answer to this may be pointed out the definite fact, that the era was not started during the reign of Kaḍaphisis II, who had not advanced upto Mathurā, not to talk of Benares.

(102) H. H. pp. 652.

(103) Avantī was the centre of attraction in central India. Similarly Mathurā was the centre of attraction in northern India. That was the reason why foreign invaders like Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ called themselves kings and started their eras only after achieving the conquest of Avantī. Of course, they dated the eras with year in which founders of their dynasties ascended the throne.

(104) This makes it clear that Māṭ was not a suburb of Mathurā but a separate village.



Chapter II

The Kuśāna Dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(*1*) *Kaniṣka I—he was the first in the Kuśāna dynasty to assume the title "King", causes for this—His relations with Vem—His conquests and the extent of his territory—His policy, family and life—His religion and some details of his life in relation to it—Quotations from scholars about the spread of Buddhism—Eight noteworthy points about the Kuśāns—Three of them discussed in this chapter and the rest elsewhere—Distinction between Āryans and non-Āryans in reference to Kuśāns.*

(*2*) *Vajeṣka, Jeṣka, Juṣka—An account of his life.*

(*3*) *Huviṣka, Huṣka—Some difficulties in connection with him and their solutions—His life and his relations with his family.*

(*4*) *Kaniṣka II—A description of social and religious events that took place in his reign—His name and his life—A comparative study of the two Kaniṣkas.*

(*5*) *Vāsudev I—Religious revolution during his time.*

(*6–13*) *The end of the dynasty—Causes of its downfall.*

(1) KANIṢKA I

Kaniṣka was the first Kuśāna ruler to establish power in India and to occupy the Indian throne as such. He succeeded Vem Kaḍaphisis. What was the relation between them? Secondly, did he succeed Vem immediately after the latter's death, or did any time pass between the death of Vem and the succession of Kaniṣka? These are the two questions we want to discuss. With regard to the second question we have shown (pp. 16, last line) that the succession took place immediately.

Let us then turn to the first question. The coins of Kaniska show that he had assumed the title "King". We may note here that, both Nahapāṇ and Chasṭhaṇ (vide their accounts) did not assume the title King, so long as they did not conquer Avantī, the heart of India in those times. "Before the conquest of Avantī by them, they had rested content with their original titles like "Kṣatrap" and "Mahāksatrap". It is probable that the Kuśāns followed the footsteps of their predecessors in this matter. Hence the coins of Vem Kaḍaphisis do not bear the title king, because he had not been able to conquer Mathurā, the centre of northern India[1]. The appending of the title "King" in the coins of Kaniska is a pointer to the fact that he must have conquered Mathurā, and that he must have started an era in commemoration of his victory. Historians have called this era the Śaka era.

Scholars differ as to the relations between Vem and Kaniska. Some hold the opinion that there was no blood-relationship between them and that there passed an interval of ten years before Kaniṣka succeeded Vem[2]. (Vide the previous chapter and read the dynastic list given there.) We have proved in the previous chapter that there was no such interval between the two, that one immediately

His relations with Vem

(1) F. n. no. 103 in the previous chapter.

(2) There are no convincing proofs for these contentions. In research work, a hypothesis has always to be tested in the light of all available evidence. The world goes the way it is led. Any scholar of established repute propounding theory, which has no evidence to support, is always treated with confidence.

succeeded the other. I incline to the belief that the relation between them must have been that of father and son, because:—(1) one immediately succeeded the other; (2) He waged a successful war against the Chinese emperor, as if in order to take revenge on him for the insulting defeat that he had inflicted on his predecessor: This undoubtedly points to blood-relationship—and that too, a close one—between them. (3) If we accept the theory that there was an interval between the reigns of these kings, their seats of capital must have been different.* As a matter of fact however, one had come as far as Māt, and the other right in Mathurā,—places which are very near one another. It is argued that there was an interval between the reigns of the two on the ground of the time of the conquest of Kāśmir. This, however, does not prove that there was no blood-relationship between them. And all agree on the point that both belonged to the same race. Hence they must have been father and son.

We have stated that his reign lasted for 23 years, from 103 A.D. to 126 A.D. It seems that he devoted all these years to conquering new countries[3]. He conquered the whole of western India including Sind. In this connection, it is said by the author[4] of the "Cambridge History of India". The Süe Vihara of the 11th year of Kaniska proves that the suzerainty of the Kushans extended to the country of the lower Indus at this date". The author of Hindu History says:—"His dominions include Kabul, Kashmir, Muttra and Magadh[5] (?). Practically he was the Lord Paramount in north India". It seems that after achieving these marvellous conquests,

The extent of his territory

Any theory coming from him is hailed as gospel truth. While, an adventurer in the realm of history is always discredited, however sound may be the reasons and pieces of evidence set forth by him in support of a theory; people always look askance at him and try to cry him down. (For details vide the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ).

(3) F. n. no. 12 further.

(4) Vide vol. I. pp. 703.

(5) I have not come across any piece of evidence confirming his conquest of Magadh. Hence the mark of interrogation.

he decided to wipe out the blot on the reputation of his dynasty —a blot that was inflicted by the Chinese emperor. He first consolidated his power in Kāśmir and founded there Kaniskapur after his name. Then he seems to have passed not through the Khaiber Pass thus avoiding the circuitous path round the Hindukuś, and to have directly reached Tibeṭ and Khoṭān. Then he conquered one after the other provinces which were under the power of the Chinese generals. Not only did he reconquer all the territory, lost by his father Vem, but he also took with him to Mathurā the second son of the Chinese emperor as hostage for his good conduct. In this connection it is stated in The Oxford History of India[6]:—"He avenged his predecessor's defeat in Chinese Turkestan". It is also stated by the author of "Bhārat kā Saṁkṣipta Itihās", He[7] conquered the provinces of Yārkaṇd and Khoṭān......and took with him the son of Chinese emperor as hostage at his court". He seems to have advanced still further and to have conquered the province of Mongoliā from the Chinese emperor. Hence, it is stated by the author of Hindu History[8]:—"The name and fame of Kanishka are cherished by tradition, not only in India, but also in Tibet, China and Mongolia". His avarice and ambition however knew no bounds. He marched his armies further and further, till they were tired and exhausted and till he was in all probability murdered like Alexander the great[9]. It is stated in The Oxford History of India[10]:—"Tradition[11] affirms that he must have been smothered while on his last northern compaign by officers who had grown weary of exile beyond the passes".

(6) Ibid. pp. 103.

(7) Ibid. pp. 232.

(8) Ibid. pp. 653.

(9) Research work is about to throw entirely new light on the life of Alexander.

(10) Ibid. pp. 130.

(11) Many scholars seem inclined to believe this tradition to be true. It is, however, possible and none of them might have investigated into the authenticity of that tradition. Sometimes a tradition is historically proved to be true.

These extracts make it clear that Kaniṣka did not die a natural death, but was murdered by some officer of the army, either on the borders of China or in the intervening region. He died thus in some foreign land, far from the seat of his capital. Had he directed his attention towards the conquest of Avantī and other parts of India instead of wasting his energies in foreign countries, he would have been indeed more successful and would have ranked in power and fame with the emperors of Magadh. In those times, a small chief like Chaṣṭhaṇ could distinguish himself if he was valorous and determined.

We know that his territory outside India was greater than his territory inside India. As he devoted most of his time to conquests of new countries, he had little time to look into the details of internal administration. He followed, however the tradition of the previous emperors of Magadh or of other emperors, divided his kingdom into several provinces and appointed governors over them. In this, he was helped by his two sons, of which Vāsiṣka, or Vazeṣka or Zeṣka or Juṣka was the elder and Huviṣka or Huṣka was the younger. Vāsiṣka was entrusted with all the affairs of internal administration while he himself was away from India. Huviṣka was appointed as governor of Kāśmir and the surrounding regions. Over Rājputānā, (then called Madhya deś with Madhyamikā as its capital), was appointed a general by name Ghṣamotik, who having died during the lifetime of Kaniṣka, his son Chaṣṭhaṇ was entrusted with the same post. Of these three appointments, the first two are supported by the writer of the Oxford History of India. As regards the third, details are given in the next chapter. The writer of the Oxford History[12] says:—"Kanishka spent most of his life, waging successful wars; whilst absent on his distant expeditions, he left the government of the Indian Province in the hands[13] first of Vasiṣka[14], apparently his elder,

His policy, family and life

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(12) Oxford His. of India, pp. 103.

(13) This is a result of the lack of full knowledge about his dominions. (Read f. n. nos. 14 and 15 below). Or the book is concerned with India only.

and then of Huviṣka[15] apparently his younger son."

Thus, it seems that Kaniṣka spent his life in conquests and expeditions.

We now turn to some details about his family. We cannot definitely say how long he lived. We can however come to a tentative conclusion after a consideration of the following facts. In the first place, his regin lasted for 23 years. Secondly, he died far away from the seat of his capital. Thirdly, both his father Vem, and his grandfather Kaḍaphisis died after becoming 80 years old. This means that by the time of his father's death, Kaniska's age must have been 40 to 45 years. Adding 23 years of reign to this, we gather that he must have died at the age of 63 to 68. Had he not been murdered, he must have probably lived long. His constant expeditions, on the other hand, bespeak a younger age. But that looking to the constitutions, climate and other factors of those times, we might come to the conclusion that, people in those times aged not so rapidly as we do. Hence, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he died at the age of about 70.

He had two sons. Vazeṣka the elder was probably 40 to 45 at the time of his death, while Huviṣka was 35 to 40.

People of our time find it difficult to grasp and admit that in ancient times kings, appreciating the value of spiritual life, always followed some particular religion very devoutly. Whenever we want to find out which religion a particular king followed, we ought to look to his coins, inscriptions and other such materials in which he must have left some signs and symbols of his religion. We have already referred in the preceding chapter to all the inscriptions and coins concerning Kuśāna chiefs. The main inscriptions are at Mathurā, Sāñchī, Ārā, Isāpur, Sārnāth and Vardak. Their coins are fully described in Vol. II and III.

His devotion to religion

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(14) It is not yet commonly recognized that Vajeṣka got the throne first, and that Huviṣka was a governor at the same time.

(15) Read f. n. no. 14 above.

A glance at the accounts of Vasiṣka and Huviṣka will show that the terms "former" and "latter" are of no use.

Some pieces of sculpture have also been found out in this connection. Many idols, slabs; inscriptions and pillars have been excavated near the hill of Kankālitilā, one of many hillocks near Mathurā. Details about this are given in "Mathura and Its Antiquities", published by the Government of India, at Allāhābād. If we compare these idols and pillars and inscriptions with those at Sāñchī, we will notice much resemblance between the two. This clearly means that they both belong to the same religion. The idols and pillars of Bhārhūt[16] also are found to have much resemblance with those at the above two places. We will, however, not take it into consideration here because no mention is made in them of Kuśāna[17] chiefs.

The inscriptions in question bear very clearly the names of kings thus leaving no doubt of their identity. The word "Devaputra" strongly indicates their connection with the Āryan civilization. This means that Kuśāns were no foreigners. They were Āryans. The theory that Vāsudev[18] was the first to adopt Āryan mode of life is quite ill-founded. The reason, why scholars came to the conclusion that Vāsudev was the first Kuśāna chief to adopt Āryan mode of life, was that the signs on his coins are different from the signs on the coins of previous Kuśāna chiefs. This, however, is in no way a conclusive piece of evidence. This change signifies that Vāsudev followed a religion which his predecessors did not follow. Vāsudev was a follower of Hinduism, while his predecessors followed either Jainism or Buddhism.

Let us find out which religion was followed by the predecessors of Vāsudev. Kaḍaphisis I, as we know, never set his foot in India. Kaḍaphisis II was the first Kuśāna chief to come to, and stay in India. What religion did he and his descendants upto Kaniṣka follow? Many scholars are confirmed in the belief that

(16) Read "The Bharhuta Stupa" by Cunningham. Some details about the similarity between the relics at these two places are given in vol. I.

(17) At the time of the erection of the Bhārhūta relics, Kuśānas had not come to India.

(18) Details about him are given later on.

the stūpas at Śāñchī are connected with Buddhism[19]. This argues that the stūpas and other relics at Mathurā which are quite similar to those at Sāñchī, must also be connected with Buddhism. Hence they believed that the Kuśāna chiefs upto Kaniska were followers of Buddhism. Mr. Smith in "Mathura and Its Antiquities" says[20]:—"Six bases of Buddha statues[21], inscribed and dated in the regular years of the Indo-Scythian rulers, Huvishka, Kanishka and Vasudeva". This means that these chiefs were followers of Buddhism. In the introduction to the same book, however, he says:—"The objects found by Cunningham with the exception of ten-armed Brahmanical[22] figure are all Jain[23]." This means that both Mr. Smith and Mr. Cunningham hold the opinion that the idols found near Mathurā are connected with Jainism, though they differ slightly in their views. Both are great authorities on ancient history. A Bengali writer says[24]:—"He[25] also had a great liking for a curious mixture of Greek, Indian and Persian gods. The types of his coins had Hercules, Sarapies, Skanda, Visakha, Pharro and others, but no figure and name of Buddha". This means that his coins present a variety of gods and goddesses[26], and that there

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(19) Bhārhūta is also reduced to the same condition. Cf. f. n. nos. 16 and 17 above.

(20) Ibid. pp. 3.

(21) "Buddha Statues"—this term does not necessarily mean that the statues did belong to Buddhism. "Buddha" means one who knows or "a learned man". (Compare f. n. nos. 22 and 23 below).

(22) Does a ten-handed figure necessarily belong to Brahminism.

(23) It clearly means that there was no Buddhist image.

(24) H. H. pp. 656.

(25) These words are written in connection with Huviṣka. Probably when the author wrote these words, whether Kaniṣka preceded Huviṣka or vice versa must not have been certain. As a matter of fact, Huviṣka was the successor of Kaniṣka I and predecessor of Kaniṣka II.

(26) The reasons for such happening may be as follows:—(1) As they were not definitely settled in a particular civilization, they must have adopted various gods and goddesses. (2) Or they must have done so in order to represent the religious peculiarities of the five races over whom the Kuśāna chief established his rule.

is no Buddhist sign on them. The same writer says later on:—"Like Kanishka, he was a liberal patron to Buddhist religious endowments. Probably he was a growing Hindu". Surely this means that he was a liberal-minded ruler with tolerant views on religion. He also states that the king was inclining[27] towards Brahminism. The following extract from the same writer gives us his views on the condition of Buddhism in those times, though I do not happen to agree with all the views stated therein.

He[28] says:—"No Buddhist period in the Indian History. Some scholars have made much of Buddhism in India. They think that at one time (say from B. C. 242 to 500 A. D.) Buddhism had eclipsed Hinduism[29]; that a great majority of the people had embraced Buddhism, and that, almost everything was Buddhistic in style etc. It does not appear that there is much truth in it. Buddhism was no doubt prevalent in India. In other parts of India, it was sporadic. The large province of Assam was entirely free of Buddhism. The provinces about Hardwar, Canouj, Allahbad, Benares had little Buddhism. Carnal, Jaipur, Panchal etc. furnish no proof as to the prevalence of Buddhism there. Even in Magadh and Bengal[30], Hinduism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The monks were regular Buddhists, but the laymen were mostly Buddhistic Hindus, i. e. men who followed some Buddhist doctrines on the Hindu basis, having castes and Hindu manners. This is why they could be won to Hinduism easily. There are some native Christians in south India, who still follow the caste system and some other ancestral Hindu manners etc. The Buddhist pilgrims

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After some years' stay in India their civilization became settled. This is evident from their coins.

(27) These words suggest that the seed of the change of faith by Vāsudev, was laid during the time of Huviṣka, his immediate predecessor.

(28) H. H. pp. 702–703.

(29) As a matter of fact, Jainism was preponderant in India for a number of centuries.

(30) This indicated a minute study of the history of various Indian provinces by the author.

of Ceylon and China of the 4th[31] century A. D. did not notice Buddhism flourish in India". The author has quoted the following passage from The Historians' History of the World in support of his views:—"The Editor of the Historians' History of the World is right in observing that owing to its abstractness and rivalry of Hindus, Buddhism was a failure[32] in India[33]; in modified form[34] it has, however, prevailed in other parts of India".

The authors quoted above wrote some fifty years ago. Later researches have proved that the excavated idols and other relics at Kankālitilā belong to Jainism. No doubt, the Sāñchī relics belong to Jainism, because both of them are identical in everything. We have proved at great length and with the evidence of coins and inscriptions, that most of the relics which were taken to be connected with Buddhism, belong as a matter of fact to Jainism. The Kuśāna inscriptions bear specific mention of years, months, dates and seasons; no Buddhist inscriptions, on the other hand, contain anything of that nature, except the year. This shows clearly that the Kuśāns were not Buddhists. They were Jains as truly as the Śakas and the Kṣaharāṭas were Jains. Even Chaṣṭhaṇ, as a study of his coins and inscription convincingly shows, was a Jain.

Some points

Some points in connection with Kaniska's life deserve notice here. Some of them have no direct bearing upon his life. Such are discussed in the next chapter.

(A) To be discussed in this chapter.

(1) Do Chaṣṭhaṇ and Kuśāns belong to the same race?

(2) What about the trio of Huṣka, Juska and Kaniṣka?

(31) This proof is very decisive against Buddhist influence in India from B. C. 270 to 4th ceetury A. D.

(32) Cf. an extract from the presidential lecture of Mr. Hornele, (vol. I, pp. 42) under the auspecies of The Bengal Royal Asiatic Society. Cf. f. n. no. 34 below.

(33) It may have been successful in Ceylon.

(34) "Modified form" We have proved in vol. II, chap. I, that Buddha was at first a Jaina monk, and remained so for seven years. Cf. this with the phrase noted above.

(3) Some details about "Āryan" and "Non-Āryan", and about "Yavana", "Mlechchha" and "Turk".

(B) To be discussed in the account of Kaniṣka II.

(4) Comparison between Kaniṣka I & II.

(C) To be discussed in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ or in the third chapter.

(5) Why do we find the statue of Chaṣṭhaṇ side by side with that of Kaniṣka ?

(6) The beginnings of the Kuśāna and Chaṣṭhaṇa eras.

(7) Distinctions between the races of Chaṣṭhaṇ and Nahapāṇ. (Some are given in vol. III, pp. 164 & seq.).

(8) Some details about the terms "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap". (Some details are already given in vol. III, pp. 117 & seq.).

We take these points one by one:—

(1) Do Chaṣṭhaṇ and Kuśāns belong to the same race ?

In the idol that has been excavated[35] in Māṭ near Mathurā, Kaniṣka is found standing side by side with Chaṣṭhaṇ. This indicates some connection between them. The appendage of the term "Kṣatrapa" to the name of Chaṣṭhaṇ shows that he was a vassal of the other. Scholars have inclined to this belief and hence, whenever they found any number mentioned along with any Chaṣṭhaṇa king, they have taken that number to have belonged to Kuśāna era, which they believe to have been started in 78 A. D. They have, however, made no effort to show that both belonged to the same race. The relation of suzerainty and vassalage may exist between two kings though they do not belong to the same race[36]. Let us try to find out whether any such relation existed between them[37]

(35) Details are given later on in chap. III.

(36) It has been proved that though Kṣatrap Bhūmak belonged to the Kṣaharāṭa race, yet he acted as the governor of Bactrian chiefs, Demetrius and Menander (Vol. III, vide their accounts).

(37) Man is after all a creature of environment. The founder of the dynasty having always resided outside India, was not confirmed in any civilization because no definite civilization prevailed in those parts. His successors adopted a definite culture because they came into touch with one.

We have proved that though the founder of the Kuśāna dynasty did not definitely belong to any religion, his successors who came and settled in India, became followers of Jainism. The relics excavated from the mound of Kankālitilā near Mathurā indicate that they were devoted to Jainism[38]. It can be proved about Chaṣṭhaṇas also, that they were Jains. Their coins bear Jaina symbols on the reverse side (Vide vol. II, chapters on coins). Their inscriptions found near Mt. Girnār at Junāgaḍh, have not been definitely interpreted. Mr. Rapson, however, inclines to the view that they are concerned with Jainism[39]. Moreover, an inscription by Juska has been found erected at Sāñchī (ante. pp. 15, f. n. 48) over which he had no political power[40]. In short both the Chaṣṭhaṇs and Kuśāns were staunch followers of Jainism. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they belonged to the same race. When we examine their coins, we find there are many points of difference there. The titles assumed by them strengthen the view that they belonged to different races. "Emperor" and "Kujul" were the titles adopted by the Kuśans while "Ksatrap", "Mahākṣatrap", "Rāja", "Svāmi" etc. were adopted by Chaṣṭhaṇas. These things bespeak different social customs. The names of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings generally end in "Dāman", while the Kuśāna names end in "Ska" or "Uṣka". Later on they seem to have adopted purely Hindu names like "Vāsudev". Chaṣṭhaṇas came to India from the region of Tāskand and Samarkand in central Asia; the Kuśāns hailed from Khotān and Pāmir. It is however true, inspite of these differences that Chasthaṇas were one of the five races over which the Kuśāna chief established his power. That was the reason why probably Ghsamotik, the father of Chaṣṭhaṇ was appointed as a Ksatrap by the Kuśāna chief.

(38) For details read "Mathura and its Antiquities".

The Sāñchī inscription assures us that the region about it was connected with the Kuśāns. The close relation between Sāñchī and Jainism has already been proved. Hence the Kuśāns must have been Jains. Cf. f. n. no. 39 below.

(39) Details are given in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇs. Vide also vol. III, pp.323.

(40) The existence of a pillar inscription in a region not under their power, proves that the place has connection with the religion of the Kuśāns. (Cf. f. n. nos. 29 & 39). We should look into the details of this inscription.

There is no doubt that there were kings of this name. We were uptil now not certain of the order of their succession. We have already tried in the previous chapter to arrange this order. By permutation and combination, these three names can be arranged in six different ways. Full details about their succession will be given in their respective accounts. Briefly stated:—Kaniṣka I, the brave and valorous king, was succeeded by his eldest son Vazeṣka, or Juṣka[41], who having died at an early age was succeeded by his son, who assumed the name Kaniṣka II. He being a minor, the affairs of administration were conducted by his uncle Huṣka[42].

(2) The trio of Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka

Let us now refer to the words of the author of Rājtaraṅgiṇi. They are:—[43]:—" The continued existence of the three places Kaniskapur, Hushkapur and Jushkapur." These names indicate that there were kings of that name. All the three citiesbeing situated in Kaṣmir, we conclude that they were rulers of that country. Evidently, the quotation refers to the Kuśāna dynasty bearing the same name. Of this trio, everything is clear about Huṣka and Juṣka. But which of the two Kaniṣkas is meant here ?

In the chronological list given by us in the preceding chapter, we have shown that Kaniṣka I was a predecessor of Huṣka and Juska, and that Kaniṣka II was their successor. This will make it easy for us to find out the order of their succession, if the names given in the quotation are in a chronological order. The author of Rājtaraṅgiṇi must have arranged them in such order only. Evidently Kaniṣka I was the founder of Kaniṣkapur, as the name of that city is stated first.[44]

Let us find out the approximate time when these cities were founded. We have shown that Kaniṣka I, ruled from 103 to 126 A.D.,

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(41) Vide below where an account is given of Vazeṣka

(42) This confusion is due to political conditions of Kāśmir and Mathurā in those times. Read the account of Kaniṣka II given later on.

(43) Vol. II, pp. 361. The extract has been quoted from Rājataraṅgiṇi Sarga I, pp. 76, para. 74.

(44) Read the statement on pp. 33 above.

and that Juṣka or Vazeṣka ruled from 126 to 132 A. D. Kaniṣka spent only the first twelve years of his reign in India, and the remaining in conquering foreign countries. He turned his eyes to Kāśmir only after this. Hence, he must have founded the city sometime after 115 A. D. Juskapur must have been founded anytime between 126 to 132 A. D. Huviśka stayed in Kāśmir twice or thrice. During the rule of Kaniska I, he stayed there from 115 to 126 A. D. During the reign of Kaniṣka II, he stayed there from 132 to 142 A. D. Later on, he established himself as the independent ruler of Kāśmir, and ruled for twenty years. In all probability he must have founded the city during his third period of stay, when he was independent. He may as well have founded the city during his earlier periods of stay. In short, Kaniṣkapur was founded between 115 to 126 A. D.; Huṣkapur between 120 to 126 A. D. and Juṣkapur between 126 to 132 A. D. Thus, all the three cities were founded within 17 years from 115 to 132 A. D. Or if the time of Huviskapur is extended upto 162, then it would be 47 years.

We have given full details about these terms in Vol. III. We have also given details about Inḍo-Scythians, Pārthians, Inḍo-Pārthians, Kṣaharāṭas, Greeks and Bactrians. We have also shown distinctions between Mlechchhas and Yavanas.

(3) Distinction between Āryans and non-Aryans

In Asia, there are two or three regions bearing the name Turkey. One in the extreme west, we may call Asian Turkey, the other comprising Khoṭān and the surrounding region, Chinese Turkey, and the region around the Oxus containing cities of Tāskand and Samarkand as Russian Turkey.[45] People residing in two of these Turkeys were Āryans and followed the Āryan culture during the time of the Kuśāns. The third, namely, the Asian Turkey, though of the Āryan origin, came later on, under the influence of Greek culture. Thus the Greeks, the Bactrians and the Asian Turks were Non-Āryans. The Bactrians later on came into close touch with the Āryan civilization, but they were

(45) We have called this region "Asian Turkey" in vol. III. We now find that it is more appropriate to call it "Russian Turkey".

called Mlechchhas due to the difference in civilizations. We find in Rājtaraṅgiṇi that Jālauk had defeated the Mlechchhas. These Mlechchhas were none other than Bactrians, a portion of whom came under the Kuśāns in about 100 A. D. with this difference that the later Bāctrians had less of non-Āryan culture in them than the former.

This makes it clear that the terms Āryan and non-Āryan refer to civilizations and not to territories. The same people who might have been non-Āryans first, might have become Āryans later on.

We have to note that Chinese Turkey aud Pāmir were the homes of Kuśāns. These regions were inhabited by the U-ci-race and hence the Kuśāns had blood-relationship with them. The Caṣṭhanas, on the other hand, came from Russian Turkey. Both these people were Āryans. They were simple and generous. During their stay in India, they absorbed more and more of Jainism, Buddhism or Brahminism. The Kuśāns settled in north India, while the Chaṣṭhaṇs settled in central India in Avantī. The Kuśāns succeeded the Indo-Pārthians and consequently inherited most of their culture[46]. The Chaṣṭhaṇs succeeded the Gardabhils and so absorbed most of their mode of life. The Gardabhils were Jains and Jainism had a powerful hold on the Chaṣṭhaṇs. The Kuśāns were not so powerfully influenced by Jainism. Chaṣṭhaṇ, being a native of Russian Turkey, we find the signs of Mt. Meru which was situated near his home, on his coins. We do not find such signs on the Kuśāna coins.

We should note here that in ancient times there were only three religions in India. They should better be termed "cultures". Of these, a study of statistics tells us, Jainism is found to be steadily declining. People find it hard to swallow the fact that the Turks, Arabians, Afgans and many other races of Asia, who are now all Muslims, were at first Jains. Why should there be any difficulty in believing this, when it is universally granted that the composers of Hindu sacred books also were natives of Afgānistān.

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(46) Cf. ante f. n. no. 24. The extract is quoted from H. H. The variety of portraits in the coins is due to this reason.

Again, before the rise of Islām in the seventh century A. D., these people must have followed some other religion. We have shown in vol. II, (vide account of Priyadarśin) that Jainism spread its wings far and wide over Asia. We have proved in the account of the Gardabhīla king Vikramcharitra, that even in Arabia, Jainism was the prevalent religion right upto the 3rd century A. D.

(2) VĀSIṢKA, VAZEṢKA, ZEṢKA, JUSKA

Kaniṣka I was succeeded by his son Vazeṣka. In some inscriptions we find "Vāsiṣka" in place of Vazeṣka. Sometimes it was shortened to Zeska, which in its turn, became Juṣka in order to rhyme with Huṣka and Kaniska[47].

We know that the first three Kuśāna kings, Kaḍaphisis I & II and Kaniska I enjoyed long life spreading over nearly 80 years.

Other details

Naturally the fourth king, was a youngster to 30 to 35. Naturally we expect that his reign must have lasted for a long time. But inscriptions tell us that his reign lasted for six years only. He must have died from an accident. His son, as we shall prove later on, was only three or four years old at that time.

As his reign lasted for a very short time, scholars were sceptical of the existence of any such king. One of them[48] has said, " Huviṣka was probably succeeded by one Vasishka whose name appears from the inscription, though not varified by a coin". The same writer says again[49]:—"He (Huviṣka) was succeeded by Juṣka about whom we know very little". Thus we see that Juska was another name of Vāsiṣka[50]

It has been proved that Kaniṣka had appointed Huviṣka, the governor of Kāśmir and Vazeska the governor of Mathurā. Of course, a separate dynasty was not founded by Huviṣka, though he was to all intents and purposes a free monarch. Had he done so, Vazeṣka's name would not have been mentioned by the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi, in the dynastic list.

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(47) Read below f. n. no. 50.

(48) H. H. pp. 656.

(49) Ibid, pp. 658.

(50) F. n. no. 47 above.

His was an uneventful and short reign. His father had left for him a vast empire.

(3) HUVIṢKA-HUṢKA

Many things about the Kuśāns are still unknown. We have tried to dispel some darkness in the previous pages. The next problem to be considered is, who came first, Huviṣka or Kaniṣka. We have stated that when Vazeṣka died, his son was only three or four years old. He was, no doubt, the rightful heir and hence his name should be stated after that of Vazeṣka.

The inscriptions, however, tell a different story.

(A) Three inscriptions bear the name of Huviṣka:-The Mathurā inscription bears no. 33, but no title is appended to his name. The Vardak inscription bears no. 51 and the Mathurā inscription, 60. Both have the title "Emperor" appended to his name.

(B) Two inscriptions bear the name of Kaniṣka:—

The Ārā inscription bears no. 45, and the Mathurā, 60. Both of them have the title "Emperor" appended to his name.

From this, it seems both of them called themselves "Emperor" from 41 to 60. It also seems that Huviṣka was the immediate successor of Vazeṣka. Some time betweeen 33 and 41 both of them began to style themselves "Emperors[51]". This continued upto 60. From 29 to 41, we find the mention of Huviṣka alone.

Why should there have been no mention of Kaniṣka, though he was the rightful claimant to the throne after Vazeṣka's death? It is possible that during his minority, his uncle conducted the administration. The inscriptions of Huviṣka make it clear that he styled himself "Emperor" right from 40 to 60. It follows from this, that he acted as regent from 29 to 40, because we find that from 41 onwards Kaniṣka also called himself "Emperor[52]". These conclusions hold good so long as no earlier date is found describing any one of them as "Emperor[53]. Thus Kaniṣka remained minor

(51) For details read the previous page.

(52) From 29 to 40 i. e. 11 years. Cf. f. n. no. 51 above.

(53) This requires minute research. If an inscription is found bearing any date from 33 to 40, it would be very helpful.

for 11 years and came to the throne at the age of 14 or 15, the common age for majority in those times. We remember that Aśok acted as the regent of Priyadarśin for 13 years and that these 13 years have been included in the period of his rule[54].

What about both these persons styling themselves "Emperors" simultaneously for 20 years from 41 to 60? We know that while away from India on his conquest tour, Kaniṣka I had appointed Vazeṣka over Mathurā and Huviska over Kāśmir We also know that he died while fighting in foreign countries. Hence we might conclude that:—

(1) The dynasty was divided into two branches, one over Mathurā, and the other over Kāśmir.

(2) Huviṣka accepted nominal obedience to Vazeṣka the successor in the main branch.

(3) Huviska acted as the regent of Kaniska II during his minority.

(4) If one of the branches is issueless the other succeeds over the whole territory.

Let us discuss the possibility of each of these conclusions. The very fact that both called themselves "Emperors" simultaneously means, that they ruled over separate territories and started two branches of the dynasty[55]. What was the reason of this and how long did this continue?

(1) Probably the arrangement made by Kaniṣka I was accepted as permanent[56].

(2) This state of affairs continued in all probability upto 60, as no inscription bears witness to its further continuation. In this connection, a consideration of the respective places of their inscriptions would be of much help. The inscriptions of Kaniṣka II are all

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(54) The Purāṇas have similarly called Puṣyamitra Śuṅga king, though he never ascended the throne.

(55) Read f. n. no. 56 below.

(56) If this be proved, Vazeṣka–Juṣka cannot be included in the dynastic list of the Kāśmirian kings. But the mention of his name in the list by the author of Rājataranginī, shows that Juṣka was considered as the overlord by him. (Cf. f. n. no. 42 and the account of Vazeṣka).

in the region around Mathurā, and both describe him as "Emperor". This makes it clear that he was an independent sovereign from 40 to 60. In the case of Huviṣka, two of his inscriptions are of Mathurā, bearing numbers 33 and 60, of which the latter only bears the title "Emperor". The place of the third inscription is Varḍak which is thirty miles away from Kāśmir, and thus evidently in Kāśmir. In the year 33, Huviṣka was the regent of Kaniṣka, and hence his inscription bears no title. The inscription of Varḍak bears no. 51, the year in which he was the independent ruler of Kāśmir and so he may well have called himself "Emperor[57]". But how do we explain the appendage of that title to his name in the inscription of Mathurā, which bears no. 60? We may note that 60 was the last year of the rule of Huviṣka, and we have no information to the effect that his dynasty continued after that. In all probability, after the death of Huviṣka, Kaniṣka II came to Kaśmir and ascended the throne, thus combining both the branches.

Huviṣka's age

We know that at the time of the death of Kaniṣka I in 23, Vazeṣka was 40 years old and Huviṣka was 35. We have shown above that he died in 60, after a reign of 37 years, at the age of 72. During the 11 years from 29 to 40, he acted as the regent of Kaniṣka. He had no son.

(4) KANIṢKA

When he attained majority, he ascended the throne of Mathurā. As a matter of fact, Huviṣka's name cannot be included in the dynastic list of the kings of Mathurā. It can legitimately be included in the list of the kings of Kāśmir. We are not sure whether it would be quite proper to enter the name of Vazeṣka or Zuṣka in the dynastic list of Kāśmirian kings. So the chronological order of

(57) Vide Sudhā (ch. I, f. n. no. 49), pp. 6:—It is stated there:—"At this time Huviṣka also was the independent ruler over a kingdom In the 51st year he became the master of Kābul also".

(58) It is believed (ch. I, para next to f. n; no. 59) that an inscription bearing no. 28, has been found out, in which Huviṣka is found calling himself "Emperor". If this is proved, it is to be understood that he was an independent ruler of Kāśmir in that year.

the kings of Mathurā is:—Kaniṣka I, Vazeska-Juṣka, Huviṣka (uncertain), and Kaniṣka II.

The dynastic list of the kings of Kāśmir[59] is as follows:—Kaniṣka I, Vazeṣka or Juṣka (uncertain), Huviska and Kaniṣka II.

His various names etc.

Kaniṣka II seems to have adopted the name "Kaisar" as his inscriptions bear that name. Mr. Sten Konow, in his "Rock Inscriptions in Kharosṭhī" (pp. 162) has quoted the following extract from the inscription at Ārā.[60]:-"Mahārājasya Rājātirājasya Devputrasya Kaisarasya Vazeska Putrasya Kaniṣka." The extract shows that "Kaisar" was the name adopted by Kaniska, (the son of Vazeṣka) in his inscriptions.

We know that he was a minor at the time of his father's death. Hence he must have been born in about 18 to 25. He died in 93. Hence he lived for about 68 to 75 years. His reign lasted for about 64 years, including 11 years of his minority.

Events during his reign

We know that he ascended the throne in 40. We might have to shift it a bit earlier when we come to the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ. For the present we accept it as all right. From that year onwards he called himself "Emperor.", Huviska did the same in Kāśmir, and there came about a change in the status of Chasṭhaṇ who was uptil then a Kṣatrap. He became Mahākṣatrap in that year. It is stated in the "Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society" Vol. II, Part I, pp. 62:—"The statues of Kanishka and Chasthana being found together..." This extract shows that Kaniṣka considered Chṣtahaṇ to be his compeer. He was appointed Mahāksatrap and a larger territory than one under Ghṣamotik (his father) was put under

(59) Details given in previous pages will enable the readers to follow this.

(60) In the Mārgaśirṣa number of "Sudhā" 1990, it is stated on pp. 5:—"The word Vazeṣka is here exactly in the same position, in which the word Kuśānputra is found in the inscription of Māṭ. It follows that both the names denote the relation of father. Thus Kuśān was the name of Vem's father". (Mathurā kā Yagniya Stambha by Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl). Cf. f. n. no. 40, last chapter. This requires further research.

his power. Or he was granted full autonomy over his original territory. Thus, in Kaniṣka's time he himself was the independent ruler of Mathurā, Huviṣka of Kāśmir and Chṣṭahaṇ of Sind and Rājputānā. In short, the empire founded by Kaniṣka I, was much reduced during the time of Kaniṣka II. Whether this was done by Kaniṣka II, willingly or unwillingly, is a separate question. Of course after Huviṣka's death, the Kāśmirian territory came again under his power. Turning to the religious condition in those times we find in Buddhist books[61] the following words:–"Fourth council at Kundalvana near Shrinagar under the presidentship of Parshva." This means that he had given facilities for a Buddhist conference in his kingdom. That does not, however, necessarily mean, that either he or his descendants were Buddhists. King Ajātśatru has been mentioned in Buddhist books as granting facilities to Buddhists. He was a Jain. The Kuśāns held tolerant views on religion and hence granted facilities to Buddhists. The same writer seems to support this view[62] by saying in connection with the inscriptions of Kuśāns:—" But no figure and name of Buddha." In connection with this conference, Mr. Vincent Smith says (E. H. I. 3rd.ed, pp. 267):—Buddhist council—Kanishka's council which is ignored by the Ceylonese chroniclers, who probably never heard of it, is only known from the traditions of northern India as preserved by the Tibetan, Mongolese and Chinise writers. The accounts of this assembly like those of the earlier councils, are discrepant and the details are obviously legendary." This means the accounts of the various Buddhist conferences, as we find them, are not very reliable. In short, the Kuśāns were followers of Jainism.

His was a peaceful reign. He was not ambitious like Kaniṣka I. On the contrary he seems to have ceded Kāśmir to his uncle, and Sind and Rājputānā to Chaṣṭhaṇ, who later on became the independent ruler of Avantī. Like the Indo-Pārthian king Aziz II, who allowed the Gardabhils to establish themselves over Avantī, Kaniṣka made no effort to secure Avantī for himself. His was a

(61) H. H. pp. 656,

(62) Ibid, pp. 656.

long reign and he was a lover of peace. He devoted himself to art and religion. We find many idols and other relics in Kankālitilā, which bear an eloquent testimony to this. It may be argued that the name of Kaniṣka in these relics refers to Kaniṣka I. Looking, however, to the modes of life led by them, we must conclude in favour of Kaniṣka II.

Kaniṣka I & II a comparison

Both enjoyed a long term of life. The second ruled for the longest period in the whole dynasty. The first ascended thet hrone in his middle years, the second was a minor at the time of his father's death. The first was adventurous and ambitious, the second was peace-loving and contented. The first devoted most of his life to warfare, the second to art and religion. The first founded a vast empire, the second could hardly preserve it. The first started an era. In short, the region of Kaniṣka I was full of adventures and brilliance. The second's reign was peaceful and unevntful.

(5) VĀSUDEV I

Vāsudev I succeeded Kaniṣka II on the throne and ruled for 38 years from 196 to 234. It is said about him[63]:—" Inscriptions of Vasudev I at Mathura certainly range in date from 78 to 94." This means that his kingdom consisted of Mathurā and the surrounding regions. He seems to have ascended the throne at a very early date. All his inscriptions are found in the region about Mathurā. No memorable event seems to have taken place during his reign. Probably he was also of a peace-loving nature like his father.

His coins differ from those of his predecessors. This shows that he gave up the religion of his forefathers and became a follower of another. Mr. Vincent Smith[64] says:-"Vasudev I whose thoroughly Indian name, a synonym of Vishnu, is a testimony to the same fact borne by his coins, almost all of which exhibit on the reverse, the figure of the Indian God Shiva, attended by his bull Nandi and accompanied by the noose, trident and other insignia of Hindu iconography." This shows clearly that he became a convert to

(63) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 272.

(64) Ibid, pp. 272.

Brahminism. It is stated in the Jaina books that the main monks for four centuries beginning with the third century of the Vikrama era, preferred residence in the forest to residence among the people.[65] It may be inferred that this may probably be due to religious pressure from the regions of Nepāl and Bhutān, where people at that time belonged to the Prajāpati sect. The Guptas, who brought about the end of the Kuśāna dynasty, came from this region. Hence we conclude, for the present, that in the 2nd century A. D. Brahminism pushed itself to the front, and the Kuśāns became converts to it. Thus Jainism disappeared from Mathurā.

In "Cambridge Short History of India[66]", it is stated:—"To the Buddhist Kanishka was as great a figure as Asoka, but unfortunately, no early historian mentions him and his date is very much disputed". The same writer says[67] further, "It must be remembered, however, that while there is no doubt about the existence of the Buddhist council and the work it did, Kanishka's connection with it is not absolutely certain. Parmarth, for example, who is the earliest and perhaps the most reliable authority does not mention Kanishka". Clearly, Kaniṣka was not a follower of Buddhism. In the district of Peśāvar, a box has been excavated from a village named Śāhi-ki-Gheri. There is a picture on this box[68] in which Kaniṣka is represented as "standing between the sun and the moon". We know from our study of the coins that scholars call the same symbol "Star and Crescent", which is found on all the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings. It has been proved in vol. II, that this is a Jaina sign. Details about it are given in the next chapter. All these pieces of evidence prove that all the predecessors of Vāsudev were Jains. He was the first convert to Brāhminism.

(65) The reason for this change is not known. We do not know in which country they travelled before this change. Possibly monks used to stay in Sopārā and other places of central India.

(66) Vide pp. 76 of that book.

(67) Ibid, pp. 78.

(68) Ibid, pp. 79.

Vāsudev died in 234 A. D. How many kings succeeded him? All we can say is that the Kuśāns remained in power for next 46 years upto 280 A. D. We cannot come to a definite conclusion[69] about the time of the end of the Kuśāna dynasty, as long as no definite information is available about the time when the Guptas, who succeeded the Kuśāns, established their power in India. The third Gupta king, named Chandragupta I or Vikramāditya, conquered Avantī from the Chasṭhaṇas, whom we have called the kings of the Śāhi dynasty (vol. III). He started the Gupta era in commemoration of this event[70]. If we accept that the first two Gupta kings ruled for about 40 years, we find that the Guptas must have supplanted the Kuśāns in about 279 A. D. In this connection Mr. Vincent Smith says[71]:—"The decay......must have been hastened by the terrible plague of A. D. 167......which desolated Roman and Pārthian empires for several years". This means that the Kuśāna dynasty ended in about 167 A. D. He has not forwarded any reasons for saying so. Probably, there being much confusion among scholars about foreigners who settled in India, he assigned the dates of one race to the other. We have proved that the Indo-Pārthian empire in India ended in 45 A. D. and the Indo-Scythian in about 52 A. D.

The remaining Kuśāna kings (6 to 13)

The slight resemblance between the coins of the Pārthians and the Kuśāns is due to the reason that the latter were the immediate successors of the former.

That Vāsudev has been called I, means that there was another king bearing the same name. Possibly there may have been Vāsudev III and IV. We close this chapter with a quotation from Mr. Vincent Smith:—"So much, however, is clear that Vāsudev I was the last Kushan king, who continued to hold extensive territorries in India; after his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in northern India".

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(69) F. n. no. 70 below.

(70) The Gupta era was started in 319 A. D. because in that year began the rule of Chandragupta I.

(71) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 273.



Chapter III

The Kṣatraps of the Chaṣṭhaṇa (Śaha) dynasty

Synopsis:—*The reason why the account of Chaṣṭhaṇs has been given side by side with that of the Kuśāns—The starting of their era—Evidence of coins and inscriptions about it:—*

(1) A brief sketch of the life of Ghṣamotịk.

(2) Chaṣṭhaṇ, his different titles—his life and the extent of his territory—His idol with that of Kaniṣka, details about this conjunction—A comparison between Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ—Details about the terms "Kṣatrap and Mahākṣatrap" with special reference to Chaṣṭhaṇ—The Chaṣṭhaṇa era and the Kuśāṇa era—His life etc.

(3) Did Jayadāman come to the throne?

(4) Rudradāman—Eight difficulties with reference to the extent of his territory—Clarification of other issues about him—The religion of Chaṣṭhaṇs.

Political significance of rock-inscriptions—The inscriptions are an index to their religious fervour—The year in which the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was started, eight pieces of evidence about it—Clarification of hitherto unexplained issues—Chronological list.

THE CHAṢṬHAṆA DYNASTY

The Chaṣṭhaṇs are generally called the western Kṣatraps. We have called this dynasty "Śāhi"[1] in vol. III, pp. 266. We do not propose to give an account of the whole dynasty, because that is outside the time-limit of this book. We have referred below only to those points which fall within the time-range fixed by us.

The account of Chaṣṭhaṇa Kṣatraps is given side by side with that of the Kuśāns, because the former were the Ksatraps appointed by the latter. Naturally, many historical events refer to them both.

Their era

We have shown that the Kuśāna era was started in 103 A. D., and that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was also begun in the same year. Scholars hold the opinion that both the eras were started in 78 A. D. I have given below a number of reasons why I believe that they were started in 103 A. D.[2].

In the two chapters (Part VIII) devoted to eras we have proved that the Śaka era that prevailed in northern India had no connection with the one in southern India. We have given there full details about the one that prevailed in northern India. We take others here.

Scholars believe that the beginning of the Śaka era in north India was connected with any one of the following four things:—(1) Nahapāṇ (he has been mistakenly taken to have belonged to the Śaka race); (2) The beginning of the Chaṣṭhaṇa rule; (3) The beginning of the rule of the Kuśāna king, Kaniṣka; (4) The beginning of the rule of Moses or Aziz I or II. The main reason for believing so is that these dynasties were, at one time or the other, powerful in northern India. There being a bit of confusion about the races, it has been commonly believed that all of them

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(1) For a time I believed that this was the right name for the dynasty. Later researches, however, made me change my belief. Hence I have continued to call the dynasty by its old name Chaṣṭhaṇa.

(2) The date may be shifted a year or two earlier or later; but that will give rise to other difficulties.

were Śakas or related to Śakas[3]. Then the scholars fixed up 78 A. D. as the year in which the era was begun.

Of the four conditions stated above, the first and the fourth do not suit with 78 A. D. (vol. III, pp. 164 to 169 and pp. 255–57). Condition no. 3 has already been discussed in the account of the Kuśāns. So we turn to the one remaining condition, no. 2.

That a number belongs to a particular era should always be proved on the evidence of coins and rock-inscriptions. An inquiry into the inscriptions and coins of the earlier Chasṭhaṇa rulers will be of much use to us. The first three Chasṭhaṇa rulers were Ghṣamotik, Chasṭhaṇ and Rudradāman. No coin or inscription of the first has as yet been found out. In the case of Chasṭhaṇ, we have many of his coins, but no inscription has yet been found out. These coins bear one of the two titles "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap". We find, however, no number on them[4]. One thing to be noted about his coins is that he has called him "King" in them. Both coins and inscriptions are available in the case of Rudradāman. The inscription bears the number of his dynastic era, and his coins describe him as "Mahākṣatrap" and "King." We conclude that he was a Mahākṣatrap from the first, because neither the coins nor the inscriptions call him "Kṣatrap"[5]. The successor of Rudradāman has struck coins which tell us that he ruled from 72 to 100, thus proving that the reign of Rudradāman ended in 72. The earliest dates found about Rudradāman and Chasṭhaṇ are

(3) Vol. III, pp 95; pp. 96, f. n. no. 47; and pp. 281 and f. n. no. 78.

(4) I happen to have come across no. 46 once; but I have not evidence at my command to state it as authoritative.

(It is stated on pp. 122 of C. A. R. Introduction:—"All that is known as to the duration of Chasṭhaṇa's name...in the period limited by the years 46 and 72". It is stated on pp. 72 of the same book: "Period between Saka 46 and 72". These, however, cannot be taken as authoritative, because that author has made these statements with the belief that Nahapāṇ and Chasṭhaṇ both were Śakas and that the latter was successor of the former. (Vol. III, pp. 164 to 169).

(5) Details about the power of striking coins and erecting inscriptions are given in the succeeding chapter.

52 and 46 respectively. This means that Rudradāman must have come to the throne any time between 46 and 52. Or, during those six years some other king must have ruled. We have shown that a "Mahākṣatrapi" denotes more powers and larger territory than a "Kṣatrapi" (vol. III, pp. 116 & seq) and that, if the father was "Mahākṣatrap", it was customary to call the heir-apparent "Kṣatrap" (vol. III, acccunt of Nahapāṇ). The fact that the title "Kṣatrap" has not been connected with Rudradāman, indicates that he came to the throne directly, without ever being the heir-apparent. The coins of Jayadāman, the father of Rudradāman, bear the title "Kṣatrap[6]". This shows that he was the heir-apparent, and that he died just before Chasṭhāṇ. Had he died much earlier than Chasṭhaṇ, Rudradāman must have been called "Kṣatrap" for some time to come. At least, no coin has been found out which described him as "Ksatrap". In short, Chasṭhaṇ must have died in about 49, the year in which Rudradāman must have succeeded the throne. He ruled for 23 years, i. e. upto 72.

We have proved that the Śaka era did not start with Nahapāṇ or before him. Now, if we accept that Chasṭhaṇ was the starter of the era, we will have to agree that his rule lasted for 49 years, as that is the year in which he died. Kings[7] in his dynasty did not rule so long. The eighteenth in the line, Rudrasen III ruled for 30 years and the fourth king Dānyadśrī ruled for 28 years.

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(6) C. A. R. pp. 117, para 93:—"Jayadāman bears the title of Kshatrapa only". It is stated further, "On his coins Jayadaman uses the title Svami, Lord, in addition to Raja and Kshtrap". These statements are contradictory!

[N. B. The coins, which Mr. Rapson declares to have been struck by Jayadāman, do not seem to have been struck by him. It seems to have been a matter of conjecture with him. They bear the figure of the Bull, and are found from the region around Junāgaḍh, and not from Avantī or any other region. They also bear the signs of Sun and Moon, on the strength of which he has fixed them up as belonging to the Chasṭhaṇs. I do not agree with Mr. Rapson in this matter. Vide the account of Rudradāman to see whether he (Jayadāman) ever connected the title "King" with his name.]

(7) The term "King" denotes independence. These chiefs attained to "Kingship" after passing through the stages of "Kṣatrapi" and "Mahākṣatrapi"

In short, kings[8] ruled in the average for 30 to 35 years. Hence 49 years of rule for Chaṣṭhaṇ is not a possibility[9]. Again, we have to note that he could have started the era, only after attaining to a "Mahākṣatrapi" or to "Kingship[10]". It has been, however, proved that he was a Kṣatrap for some years. This would mean that he was an independent ruler for 49 years, and a Kṣatrap for some preceding years—a further impossibility. These things go to show that the era was not begun in the year in which he ascended the throne. It must have been begun in the year in which his father came to the throne.

We know that the Ksaharāṭa chief Bhūmak was a Kṣatrap for some years and then became a Mahākṣatrap. During his life-time his son and heir-apparent, Nahapāṇ, was a Kṣatrap. We also know that so long as they were under the power of an overlord, they could not start an era of their own. At the most, they could date an event to have happened in a particular year of their reigns, and could connect that number with the event. In short, a Kṣatrap could not start his own era. He could do so only after attaining a "Mahākṣatrapi" and after founding his own dynasty[11]. Hence, we do not find any mention of the Kṣaharāṭa era in the coins and inscriptions of Bhūmak, though his son king Nahapāṇ[12] dated the beginning of the era with the year in which Bhūmak ascended the throne. In the same way, Chaṣṭhaṇ started his own era after becoming "Mahākṣatrap" and dated it with the year in which his father ascended the throne.

This era, as we know, is called by the scholars as belonging to northern India[13]. We have said that it was started in the same

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(8) A person may have enjoyed power even before attaining "Kingship". Cf. f. n. no. 7.

(9) Read f. n. no. 7 above.

(10) Vide f. n. no. 11 below.

(11) A person could not start his own era so long as he was under the vassalage of an overlord.

(12) Cf. f. n. no. 8 above.

(13) Vide vol. III, pp. 448 extract from Dr. Kielhorn, and vol. III, pp. 443 extract from Mr. Rapson.

year in which the Kuśāna era was started. The one in south India is called the Śālivāhana era also. Let us now examine the theory that the era was started in 78 A. D.[14]

The beginning year of the era

If 78 A. D. is accepted as the year in which the era was started, we will have to agree that Ghṣamotik ascended the throne in that year. Now Chaṣṭhaṇ's reign, as we have seen, ended in the 49th year of the era, i. e. 127 A. D. according to this theory. The territory under Ghṣamotik's power comprised Sind, Rājputānā[15], while Chaṣṭhaṇ's seat of capital was Avantī. This means that from 78 to 127 A. D. these territories were under the power of this pair of father and son. In the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty, however, we have proved that throughout the period indicated above, not only these territories were under their powers, but their power extended right upto Kāśmir, as has been noted down by the author of Rājtaranginī. This proves that the power of Chaṣṭhaṇ over Avantī and the surrounding regions must have been established at some other time. Hence, the era could not have been started in 78 A. D. Again, if we accept this date as the one in which the era was started, there will be another difficulty of the same kind with regard to another ruler of the dynasty. Mahākṣatrap Rudrasimha was the twenty-second and the last of this dynasty. His coins point out that his rule lasted from 310 to 31(×), the last digit being illegible. It must have, however, been any number from 311 to 319. Accepting 319 as the right figure, we get that the dynasty ended in 319 + 78 = 397 A. D. It has, however, been unanimously accepted as true that Avantī was conquered by Chandragupta, the first Gupta king in 319 A. D., and started his own era in commemoration of this event. His dynasty ruled over Avantī upto 400 A. D. and further. Looking to all these reasons, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that 78 A. D. as the year in which era was started must be discarded.

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(14) Vide vol. III, pp. 441 & seq. for details about the beginning of the Śaka era.

(15) Vide the account of Kaniṣka I, pp. 32.

In this connection. Mr. Vincent Smith says[16]:—"The substantial controversy is between the scholars who place the accession of Kanishka in A. D. 78 and those who date it later in about A. D. 120". This suggests that Kaniṣka must have ascended the throne sometime between 78 and 120 A. D. We have already proved that the Chasṭhaṇa era was begun in the same year in which the Kuśāna era was begun, i. e. sometime between 78 and 120 A. D. Sir John Marshall[17] seems to support this view when he says:—"Kushanas obtained Taxilla in 60 A. D. and Kaniśhka must have ruled in 1st half of 2nd century A. D. So Kanishka could never have founded the Saka era". This means that the Śaka era was founded sometime between 100 A. D. and 150 A. D. A dynastic list of the Chasṭhaṇa rulers is given on the next page*. A glance at it will tell us that the fourteenth king, Bhartṛdāman, ruled for 16 years from 201 to 217. There seems to have been a gap after that. The gap is followed by kings holding the title "Svāmi[18]". It is assumed that the holders of this title were Chasṭhaṇs, but the exact relation between them and the preceding group of rulers is not known. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji believed that the later group is a branch of the same dynasty. It is clear, however, that very little is known about the 53 years between 217 and 270. The kings during these years hold the title "Kṣatrap" as is shown by their coins, and we are not definite about the periods of their rules. It is not unnatural to conclude that during these 53 years, the Chasṭhaṇs must have lost their independence.

The Dynastic list given below is borrowed from C. A. R. Intro. pp. 153. The numbers denote the Śaka era:—

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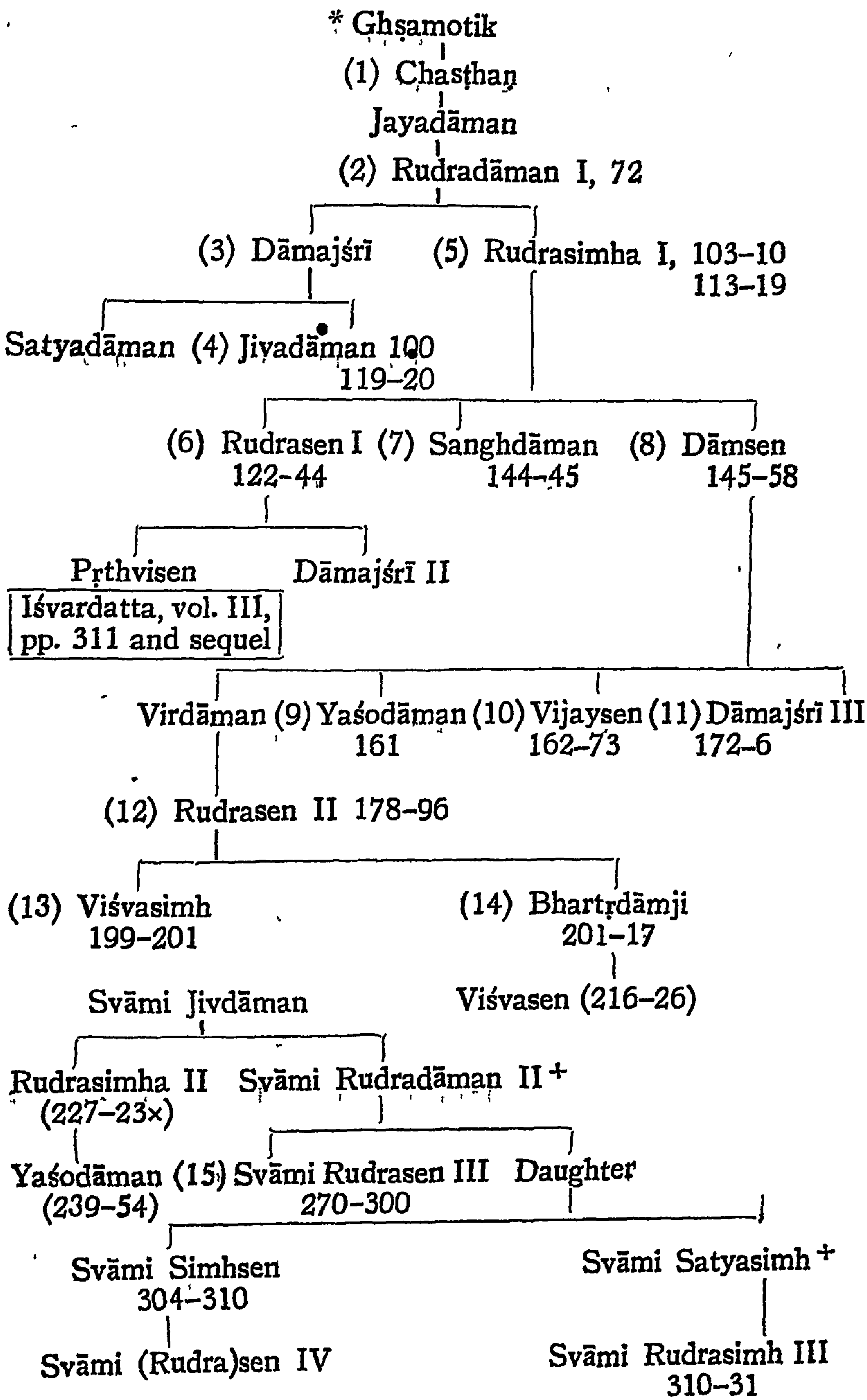
(16) E. H. I. 4th edi., pp. 272; and J. A. H. R. S. vol. II, part I, pp. 62.

(17) J. A. H. R. S. vol. II, part I, pp. 62.

* C. A. R. Introduction pp. 153.

\+ The coins of these two have not been found out.

Those who are bracketed ( ) thus, do not hold the title "Mahākṣatrap". The years of those who hold the title "Mahākṣatrap" and "Svāmi" have been stated outside the bracket.



(18) F. n. no. 19 below for details about the term "Svāmi".

A glance at the accounts of the Guptas will show that they conquered Avantī in 319 A. D. and assumed the title "Emperor". The dynastic list given above tells us that the 53 years from 217 to 270 of the Śaka era, are rather dark as regards the account of the Chaṣṭhaṇa kings. During these years they held the simple title "Kṣatrap" the meaning of which we now know. Hence, the three or four rulers during these years must have been under the vassalage of an overlord. At the end of this period also, these rulers do not seem to have gone beyond the humble title "Svāmi"[19]. We have stated above that the Guptas conquered Avantī in 319 A. D. In that year Bhartṛdāman was on the throne of Avantī and the year according to the Śaka era was 217. If we deduct 217 from 319 we get 102, which means that the Śaka era was started in 103 A. D. Thus the Śaka era was started in 103 A. D. by Chaṣṭhaṇ, who was then a Mahākṣatrap[20]. The dynasty was founded by his father, Ghṣamotik. The era was dated with the year in which Ghṣamotik began his rule.

I now propose to give a brief account of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings from Ghṣamotik to Rudradāman I. I have decided to close the account with Rudradāman for two reasons. (1) A rock–inscription at the foot of Mt. Girnār in Saurāṣṭra, near which also there is another rock–inscription by Priyadarśin, is said to have been erected by Rudradāman. I have come upon certain new details about it. (2) That inscription sheds new light on the Āndhra kings.

(1) GHṢAMOTIK

He was appointed Kṣatrap by Kaniṣka I, a year or two after he came to the throne, i. e. in about 104–105. The evidence of his coins, however, points to 103 A. D. as the year of his appointment.

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(19) A Kṣatrap has an overlord; while a "Svāmi" has no overlord. The territorial extent of a "Mahākṣatrap" was greater than that of a "Svāmi". This term was adopted by the Chaṣṭhaṇs during the time when Avantī was not in their power. It was intended to show that they were not under the tutelage of any king.

(20) Similar instances have taken place: Vol. III, pp. 306, f. n. no. 24.

In the eleventh year of his own reign, Kaniṣka got a religious place built at a village named Sü in Sind. This shows that, that part of India was under his power at that time. When he started on his expedition to conquer foreign countries, he appointed Vazeṣka over Avantī, Huviṣka over Kāśmir, and Ghsamotik over Sind and Rājputānā. The Bactrian chief Menander had appointed Bhūmak over the same region some years ago. Hence, Ghsamotik's seat of capital was the same city, namely Madhyamikā. He died during the time of Kaniska I in about 115–17 A. D. His son Chasthaṇ was appointed governor in his place. As Ghṣamotik was a Kṣatrap[21] only throughout his career, he could not have struck his own coins, and upto this time, no inscription has been found to his credit.

(2) CHASṬHAṆ

He started his career with a Kṣatrapi; later on, however, he rose to Mahākṣatrapi; at last he became an independent king. He started his career at the age of thirty to thirty-five. He does not seem to have distinguished himself during the earlier years of career. Hence, we find him a Ksatrap upto 132 A. D., the year in which Vazeska died. Vazeska was succeeded by Kaniṣka II, who was a minor. Hence, his uncle Huviska became the regent. It was during this time, that he was raised to Mahākṣatrapi. He seems to have consolidated his power during the eleven years of Kaniṣka's minority and to have pleased his overlord; as a result of this, we find his idol side by side with that of Kaniṣka in the village of Māṭ near Mathurā. In 143 A. D.[22] when Kaniṣka II ascended the throne, he declared Chaṣṭhaṇ as an independent ruler of Sind and Rājputānā. Upto this time, even during his Mahā-

(21) Some details about "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" have been given in vol. III, pp. 117 & seq. Some more details will be given in the next chapter.

(22) The year has been mentioned in connection with the coronation of Kaniṣka II. Later researches, however, show that he ascended the throne two years earlier. Hence this date will have to be also taken much earlier, i. e. A. D. 141–42.

kṣatrapi, he had struck no coins of his own[23]. It might be asked why he did not get his own coins struck, if Nahapāṇ did so during the period of his Mahākṣatrapi. In reply to this it may be stated that Nahapāṇ succeeded his father Bhūmak, as a Mahākṣatrap. While Chaṣṭhaṇ has been promoted to Mahākṣatrapi by his overlord. This is the reason why we do not find any coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ bearing the title Mahākṣatrap[24]. His coins bear the words "Rājā Mahakṣatrap Chasṭhan". This shows that he got his coins struck after he became an independent king. The successors of Chaṣṭhaṇ inherited the title "Mahākṣatrap" as a matter of right, just as Nahapāṇ inherited it from his father. We now see, that only an independent ruler could get coins struck in his own name. The inscriptions, on the other hand, were erected in commemoration of donations, and hence could be erected by any person who donated a sum of money for religious purposes. At this time, there were four major powers in India. The Punjāb, Kāśmir, United Provinces and the eastern regions were under the power of the Kuśāns. Sind and Rājputānā were under the rule of Chaṣṭhaṇ. The Gardabhīls were supreme in Avanti, Saurāṣṭra, Cutch, Gūjrāt and the Vindhya regions; and south India was under the power of the Āndhras. At this time the rulers of Avantī were not very strong. (Vol. III, table opp. pp. 329). Hence, Chaṣṭhaṇ invaded Avantī and conquered it. Kaniṣka II could have well taken advantage of this opportunity. Somehow or other, he made no move; hence Chaṣṭhaṇ now had a very large territory under his power including an important centre like Avantī[25]. In commemoration of this event

(23) Suppose, he got his own coins struck as did Mahākṣatraps like Nahapāṇ. In his case, however, this would not have been tolerated by his overlords, namely, the Kuśāns. Chaṣṭhaṇ himself also would not have considered it in conformity with his self-respect to strike coins, on which he must have of necessity allowed the Kuśāna era to appear, as he had no era of his own during that period. The best way adopted by him, thus, must have been to strike no coins at all.

(24) Read f. n. no. 23 above.

(25) I have stated here that Avantī was conquered in 143 A. D. In the table vol. III, opp. pp. 79, I have stated the date to have been 78 A. D. Further researches, however, convinced me that 143 A. D. was the right date. I have made the correction in the table opp. pp. 329 of the same volume.

he got his coins struck like Nahapāṇ[26], and proclaimed himself "King". He also started his own era. In 145, he led an invasion over the territory of the Āndhra king (vide their accounts further in this volume), defeated him and forced him to vacate Paiṭhaṇ, the seat of his capital. The new Āndhra capital was Vijaynagar, which was much farther in the south, where his successors seem to have ruled for nearly 75 years, after which the dynasty ended. Chaṣṭhaṇ spent the remaining years of his rule in peace, and died in 152 A. D. i. e. during the 49th year of the Chaṣṭhaṇa era.

Thus we see that Chaṣṭhaṇ ruled over a large empire. In fact, excluding Bengal, Bihār, Orissā, United Provinces, the Punjāb and Kāśmir, his power extended over the whole of India. The belief that his grandson, Rudradāman got an inscription made near the Sudarśan lake, is however, ill-founded. Details about it will be given in the account of Rudradāman, whose kingdom was as large as that of Chasṭhaṇ, or even probably larger.

The joint idol of Kaniṣka & Chaṣṭhaṇ

We have referred to the excavation of this idol from Māṭ near Mathurā[27]. The question is:—"Does this idol represent Chaṣṭhaṇ as a Kṣatrap or as a Mahakṣatrap?" This question arises because of two Kaniskas and because of the era to have been proved to have begun in 103 A. D. and not in 78 A. D. A writer says[28]:— "The statues of Kaniṣka and Chasṭhaṇ being found together, would mean that they were contemporaries and even relatives". On pp. 61 of the same book, it is stated:—"Chasthan held his office as great Kshatrap under Kushan dynasty i. e. under Kadaphisis II[29]". From this passage we glean that Chasṭhaṇ was at least a

(26) For the importance of Avantī in those times, vide pp. 192, vol. III.

(27) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 62.
Vide pp. 1 to 6 of "Sudhā", 1934, Mārgaśirṣa number.
Vide "Gangā" pp. 170, 1933, Jan. Special number.

(28) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part II, pp. 62.

(29) Both Kaḍaphisis I & II call themselves "Kuzul", i. e. governor in their coins. Naturally a governor could not have a "Kṣatrap" under him; neither could he have a "Mahākṣatrap" under him. It may be argued that

Mahākṣatrap[30]; and he has described as such by many other scholars. In short, we may conclude that by the time the idol was made, he had become a Mahākṣatrap. We know that soon after appointing Chaṣṭhaṇ as Kṣatrap over Sind and Rājputānā, Kaniṣka I hurried off on his expedition to foreign countries from which he never returned. Hence, we have to rule out the possibility of Kaniṣka I and Chaṣṭhaṇ as having sat together in the idol. In the same way, during the eleven years of Kaniṣka II's minority, there could have been no question of such idol having been erected. Hence, the idol must have been prepared in commemoration of Kaniṣka II's coronation in 142 A. D.

Nahapāṇ & Chaṣṭhaṇ A comparison

European scholars are not very clear about the nationalities of foreign invaders[31]. Many confusions have resulted out of this, yet European scholars proclaim that the muddle-headedness is on the side of Indian writers. An instance of this is the question of the nationalities of Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ. Some scholars say that Nahapāṇ was an Indo-Pārthian, and others say that he was either a Scythian or an Indo-Scythian. Chaṣṭhaṇ has been considered to have belonged to several races. To show this, both have been said to have belonged

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they adopted the title "Emperor" after coming to India, and so could have "Kṣatraps" and "Mahākṣatraps" under them. In reply to this, it might be stated:-(1) Kaḍaphisis II lived for a very short time after adopting "Emperorship". (2) He had not established power over a territory large enough to appoint Kṣatraps. (3) Chaṣṭhaṇ's father was the first to be appointed as a governor. (4) He had neither conquered Mathurā, nor had he started his own era. Hence he could not have appointed Mahākṣatraps.

(30) Read f. n, no. 23 above.

(31) An example of this will suffice. C. A. R. pp. 104, para 84:—"It is possible that the Kshaharatas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Chastan Sakas. It seems to be certain that the name of Nahapana is Persian and that the name of Ghsamotik, the father of Chasthana is Scythic" (Thomas, J. R. A. S. 1906, pp. 211). In spite of such confusions the blame is laid at the door of Indian scholars, in words like the following:—"Indians cared very little whether an invader was a Parthian, Saka or a Kushan. The conquerer came from Saka-dwipa and so he was a Saka". (Ind. Ant. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 42). Read f. n, no. 45, pp. 95 of vol, III in this connection.

to the same race. This belief is probably based on the Junner inscription by Ayam[32], which bears the no. 46[33]. The largest number in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhdatta is 46, and the smallest in the inscriptions of Chaṣṭhaṇa Kṣatraps is 52[34] in that of Rudradāman, the grandson of Chaṣṭhaṇ. The interval between the two numbers being only of six years, it was conjectured that Chaṣṭhaṇ succeeded Nahapāṇ sometime during those years. This was supported by the fact, that no inscription or coin[35] of Jayadāman, the father of Rudradāman, has yet been found out. Probably Jayadāman never came to the throne, or he ruled only for about six months. All these circumstances led the scholars to conclude that Chaṣṭhaṇ succeeded Nahapāṇ on the throne and that he ruled, as a "King" only for a short time, having ruled as Kṣatrap and Mahākṣatrap for a large number of years. We have, however, already proved in vol. III, pp. 200, that this theory is ill-founded. Some more proofs to the same effect are given below:—

(1) Both Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ struck coins while they were Kṣatraps, while Chaṣṭhaṇ has none to his credit during the time of his Kṣatrapi. Bhūmak, of course, did not mention any independent date, because he had not founded his own era.

(2) While a Mahākṣatrap, Nahapāṇ got many rock-edicts erected. Chaṣṭhaṇ, on the other hand, could not do so because he was under the tutelage of another king, even during the days of his Mahākṣatrapi.

(3) During his Kṣatrapi, Nahapāṇ was subordinate to the authority of his father only. When he became a Mahākṣatrap he enjoyed the powers of an independent king. Chaṣṭhaṇ was, on the other hand, a subordinate all through his Kṣatrapi and Mahakṣatrapi.

(4) Nahapāṇ was the heir-apparent to a throne. Chasṭhaṇ was

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(32) Instead of "Ayam", "Amaya" has been printed in vol. III, by mistake.

(33) Vide C. A. R. pp. 59, Inscription no. 35 (vol. III, pp. 148).

(34) Numbers have been found on some coins, but not in the coins of preceding kings. (Pp. 56 above.)

(35) Some coins are said to be struck by him. We can however, be by no means certain about it. Read f. n. no. 6, pp. 57 above.

merely the governor of some provinces. Hence his advance in power depended on the favour of his overlord. Nahapāṇ as a Mahākṣatrap was independent, Chaṣṭhaṇ was not.

(5) Signs and script, on the coins of both are quite different.

(6) Had Nahapāṇ wanted to get an idol of his carved, he could have done so. Chaṣṭhaṇ had no such power.

(7) Nahapāṇ was in a position to invade Avantī immediately after coming to the throne. Chaṣṭhaṇ had to wait for eleven years after attaining to that position.

(8) After Nahapāṇ's accession to the throne of Avantī, he began to call himself king, and it was entirely at his option whether to use the title "Mahākṣatrap" or not. Chaṣṭhaṇ used the dual title, "Mahākṣatrap—King" (pp. 168, vol. III) as if he had got much accustomed to the title "Mahākṣatrap".

(9) Nahapāṇ was a native of Afgānistān, while Chaṣṭhaṇ's home was central Asia. The mother-tongue of Nahapāṇ was Kharoṣṭhī, while that of Chaṣṭhaṇ was not such. Chaṣṭhaṇ, of course, did know some Kharoṣṭhī words, as he had stayed for a time in Afgānistān.

(10) In the inscriptions of Nahapāṇ, we find the mention of the season, the month and the day. Chaṣṭhaṇ, on the other hand, has made no mention of seasons.

In spite of these points of difference between them, they resemble each other in many points as is shown below:—

(1) Both were foreigners, and both fully adopted Indian culture. Nahapāṇ sanskritized his name and got it Ṇarvāhan or Nabhovāhan. The descendants of Chaṣṭhaṇ did the same.

(2) Both were Jains. Both visited Jaina holy places like Śatrunjay and Girnār, which were under their power (Details about this will be given in the account of Rudradāman).

(3) Both established their power first over Madhyadeś (Not exactly Central India, but that region of Rājputānā on the west of the Arvalli hills. Vol. I, chap. III). Both later on became rulers of Avantī.

(4) Both received political training from their fathers, whom they succeeded on the throne.

(5) Both started their own eras, which they dated with the year in which their fathers ascended the throne. This shows that they were very dutiful sons.

(6) Both had a long political career. Nahapāṇ began his career at the age of 15 and died at the age of 100. Chaṣṭhaṇ, who died at the age of 65, had comparatively a shorter career.

(7) Both conquered Avantī by their own valour.

(8) They had a striking facial resemblance. (Vol. II, their portrait-heads. Vol. III, plate I, figs. 14 & 15). They adopted the Indian custom of wearing crowns. Their crowns are of the same type.

Some other details about them are noted below:—

(1) After the conquest of Avantī both turned their eyes towards Āndhra. Nahapāṇ, however, was satisfied with general hegemony over Āndhra; Chaṣṭhaṇ, on the other hand, forced the Āndhra king to vacate Paithaṇ the seat of the capital.

(2) This shows that after the conquest of Avantī, Nahapāṇ made no addition to his territory. Chaṣṭhaṇ increased to a great extent. This bespeaks more valour.

(3) Nahapāṇ had no son. Hence his dynasty ended with him. Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty lasted a long time as twenty kings succeeded him one by one.

(4) Nahapāṇ allowed the circulation of the coins of his Bactrian chief, Menander. Chaṣṭhaṇ did not follow that practice.

(5) Nahapāṇ took measures to foster and develop trade. Chaṣṭhaṇ employed all his time in conquests.

(6) Nahapāṇ is famous for his charities. He may have done so in order to make the people of Avantī, favourably inclined towards him. Again, his being a long reign, he had time enough for such deeds. Chaṣṭhaṇ had little time for such things, busy as he always was conquering new territories.

The powers of a Kṣatrap and of a Mahākṣatrap

We have already given some details about these two terms. It seems that when a king had a large empire under him, he divided it into several political divisions, over each of which he appointed a governor. These governors were called Kṣatraps. A Kṣatrap sometimes was entrusted with a larger territory and was given more powers. Then he was called a Mahākṣatrap.

The foreigners who invaded India may be divided into two parts for our convenience. One we shall call independent, and the other dependent. The first type of invaders were those who had independent kingdoms in foreign countries, before they came to India. Such invaders were Greeks, Bactrians[36], Pārthians, Pahlvas-Persians and Kuśāns. The other type were those who had no independent kingdom in foreign countries before their coming to India. Such were the Śakas, the Kṣaharātas and the Chaṣṭhaṇas. The table given below will illustrate these points.

	Kṣatraps, who were appointed by foreigners of the independent type		Kṣatraps belonging to other type	
Details	Kṣatrap	Mahākṣatrap	Kṣatrap	Mahākṣatrap
(1) Striking coins	Cannot (except by special permission of the king)[37]	Can strike coins[38]; but the dating must be according to the era of the overlord	Can strike, but generally did not	Can strike[39]
(2) Use of the era	Must use the era of the overlord		Must use the era of the Mahākṣatrap of his own dynasty	Must use the era of his own dynasty

(36) The Bactrians were originally under the power of the Greeks. Later on, however, they asserted their independence and they came to India as independent conquerers, and appointed Kṣatraps.

(37) Coins of Hagām-Hagāmāś may be included in this category. (Vol. II, coin nos. 5 & 10).

(38) Moses, the Indo-Pārthian king, may be considered in the category; but he was not a Mahākṣatrap. Chaṣṭhaṇ was a Mahākṣatrap of this type.

(39) Cf. the coins of Rājuvul and Ṣoḍas (after he became a Mahākṣatrap).

(3) Starting of a new era	Can start the era of the overlord[40] or of his dynasty		Can start the era of his Mahākṣatrap[41]	His own if he is the founder of the dynasty. Otherwise he may begin it with the first year of the founder[41] of his dynasty
(4) Powers	Under his own Mahākṣatrap	Under his own king	Under the general guidance of the Mahākṣatrap of his own race	Independent
(5) Relations with the overlord	May not have any relation	May not have any relation	The overlord may be a Mahāksatrap of the same race; he may be the father	No overlord
(6) Blood-relationship	Probably no blood-relationship		Son and heir-apparent[42]	He himself is on the throne

(40) For instance the rock-edict of Khalat-sagām near Ladākh, by Vem Kaḍaphisis. (Pp. 26 above).

(41) Inscrs. of Nahapāṇ—Ṛṣabhadatta, of Ayam minister, the Takṣillā inscr. of Pātik, bearing no. 78; all the inscriptions of the Kuśāns and of Chaṣṭhaṇs etc. are instances to this.

(42) For instance, Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Rājuvul, Soḍās, Liak, Pātik etc.

(7) Rise in position	By the recommendation of the Mahākṣatrap and with the favour of the overlord	By his valour and also by the favour of overlord[43]	After the death of the father who is a Mahākṣatrap[44] he himself becomes Mahākṣatrap	Mahākṣatrap from the first, Subordinate to nobody
(8) Number	One or more[45]	A servant is in most cases not promoted to a Mahākṣatrapi[46]. In exceptional cases, the number may be one[47]	Always an heir-apparent; so only one	No question of number, because he himself is on the throne
(9) Power of erecting rock-edicts	As subordinates of the king they might do so at the behest of their overlord, and use his era. If he has performed an act of charity personally, no title need be mentioned. Any private individual could get an edict erected in commemoration of an act of charity.		Can errect by his right as an heir-apparent. Can use the era[48] of his own dynasty	This question does not arise as he is subordinate to nobody

(43) They examplify the position of Mahākṣatrap Chaṣṭhaṇ.

(44) All these things happened in the case of f. n. no. 42 above.

The belief that Rudradāman became a Mahākṣatrap by his own prowess is ill-founded (Vide his account).

(45) For instance, there were 20 to 24 Kṣatraps during the reign of Darius.

(46) This is the reason why there were no Maha-kṣatraps among the Pahlavas. (Cf. f. n. no. 37).

(47) F. n. no. 37 above. The instance of Mahākṣatrap Chaṣṭhaṇ is of the same type.

(48) F. n. no. 36 above.

Both eras, as we have already shown, began in the same year, 103 A. D. by different persons. The Kuśāna era was prevalent in the whole of northern India; the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was prevalent in Avantī and Saurāṣtra only. The end of the Kuśāna era has almost been made by Guptas in 280 A. D., and that of the Chaṣṭhaṇa era in 423 A. D. The following table will make everything clear:—

The Kuśāna era and the Chaṣṭhaṇa era

	Chaṣṭhaṇa era	Kuśāna era
(1) Beginning	103 A. D.*	103 A. D.
(2) Founder	Chaṣṭhaṇ	Kaniska I
(3) Date	Appointment of his father as Ksatrap	His accession to the throne
(4) Prevailed where ?	Avantī and Saurāṣṭra	The whole of northern India
(5) Ended by whom ?	The last Gupta kings	The first Gupta kings
(6) Any branch ?	Iśvardatta Ābhir, Mahākṣatrapa	Of Chaṣṭhaṇ himself
(7) Why branch ?	Weakening of the power	By the consent of the king
(8) End	In 423 A. D. and about that	In 280 A. D. or about that
(9) Period of duration	320 years	175 years

His age

Chaṣṭhaṇ was probably 30 to 35 years old when he came to the throne, after the death of his father in 117 A. D. He died in about 152 A. D. This means that he had a political career extending over 37 years. Hence he died at the age of about 70. He was a Ksatrap for 16 years, Mahākṣatrap for 10 years and King for 10 years. He was succeeded by his son Jayadāman.

Whether Jayadāman at all came to the throne is a question. No coin or inscription has been found out to support this. His name, however, occurs in the inscription containing a dynastic list. From this we gather that he was Chaṣṭhaṇ's son and Rudradāman's

father. Some scholars believe that his coins have been found out[49]. Details of this are given on pp. 117 of C. A. R. and they are not very conclusive. A scrutiny of the coins themselves does not prove that they really belong to him. His name has become known on account of the following reasons. In the first case, there is the Sudarśana Lake inscription at the foot of Mt. Girnār. Scholars believe that all details about conquests given in it refer to Rudradāman[50]. In order to make things seem proper[51], the name of Jayadāman was inserted between that of Chasṭhaṇ and of Rudradāman. Details about the coins referred to in f. n. no. 49, supported this point of view, because they bear the symbol of Star and Crescent, which is commonly found on Chasṭhaṇa coins. They also bear the titles Svāmi and Mahākṣatrap. On the other hand no title is found to have been appended to Jayadāman's name in the inscriptions. We know that no Kṣatrap could get his own coins struck. Again these coins bear no name. It has been pointed out however, that the symbol of Star and Crescent indicates a Chasṭhaṇa king, probably Jayadāman. These details will make it clear that evidence in support of Jayadāman having ascended the throne is very unreliable. Personally I am inclined to the opinion that he never came to the throne. It is a problem which requires further study. If it is

Jayadāman

(49) F. n. no. 6, pp. 57 and f. n. no. 35, pp. 67.

Details about five coins, supposed to have been struck by Jayadāman, are given in C. A. R. It is not stated from what places they have been found, except in the case of one, in connection with which it is stated that it was received from Rev. R. H. Scott of Junāgaḍh. This is also quite indefinite information.

It can be proved from the statement of the same writer that there must have been no coins and that he never came to the throne. Read pp. 76 and its footnotes.

(50) Details about Sudarśana lake-inscription are given on pp. 352 of vol. II. More details will be given in the account of Rudradāman later on.

(51) If we accept that the provinces conquered by Chasṭhaṇ were subsequently lost, it means that the next king must have lost them. (J. B. B. R. A. S, New edi. vol. III, pp. 73).

definitely proved that he did succeed Chaṣṭhān on the throne, we shall have to try to find out the cause of his early death. If this is not proved, we may conclude that he died during the life-time of Chaṣṭhaṇ. Probably he died shortly before the death of Chaṣṭhaṇ who died of the shock.

Rudradāman

He ascended the throne in about 152 A. D. or in the 49th year of Chaṣṭhaṇa era. His reign ended in 175 A D. or in the 72nd year of Chaṣṭhaṇa era. He was about 32 to 35 years old at the time of his accession and died at the age of about 60.

Misunderstanding about the extent of his territory

We have seen that Chaṣṭhaṇ left a vast and mighty empire behind him. It is stated in the Sudarśana Lake inscription that Rudradāman conquered Purvākārāvanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Cutch, Sindhu, Sauvir, Kakur, Aparānt, Nıṣād and other countries. This is certainly inexplicable. It indicates that the inscription had probably no connection with Rudradāman as it is understood to-day. I have discussed this question in details in vol. II. pp. 352 & seq. Below is given a summary of the main points. (1) I differ from scholars in connecting Rudradāman with this inscription. (pp. 65). In fact they themselves contradict one another in many respects. They tell us, for instance, that right from the time when Rudradāman was in the womb of his mother, Chaṣṭhaṇ began to prosper steadily and expand his kingdom without receiving any set-back. This means that during all the 35 years of his political career from his Ksatrapi in 117 A. D. to the end of his reign in 152 A. D., Chaṣṭhaṇ progressed on and on. How can we reconcile this with the contention that Rudradāman conquered the twelve provinces mentioned in the inscription ? They were already conquered by Chaṣṭhaṇ. Does this mean that they were again lost by Chaṣṭhaṇ ? That would go against their own theory of continuous expansion. Does this mean that they were lost by Jayadāman during his short reign of six months ? This goes against their own theory that Jayadāman never came to the throne. Again, it is very improbable that a whole continent of twelve provinces was lost within the short span of six months without any major battle having

been fought, because there is no such battle on record. It is equally impossible that Rudradāman could have conquered these provinces all at once. In short, Rudradāman simply inherited these provinces from his predecessor, Chaṣṭhaṇ.

(2) Prof. Rapson[52] says in C.A.R. (line 12 of rock-inscription):—" He conquered the Yaudheyas and twice defeated Satkarni, the Lord of Dakshinapath. He himself acquired the name of Mahaksatrap." This extract is based on the theory that Rudradāman conquered many provinces. There, however, remains no question of such conquests when the theory itself is proved to be ill-founded. Again a person could be a Mahākṣatrap by inheritance also[53]. We know that Chaṣṭhaṇ had become a Mahākṣatrap during his life-time. Hence his successors became Mahākṣatraps automatically when they came to the throne.

(3) In the same book[54] the writer comments upon the words " Bhraṣṭa Rājā Pratiṣṭhāpaken " (line 12), " The reference to his reinstallment of deposed kings is indefinite " This means that he is not sure of it. As a matter of fact, according to my opinion[55], these words refer to Priyadarśin who did do a thing of the kind. There is a definite reference to this in Jaina literature.

(4) The same scholar[56] makes the following remarks in connection with the script of the inscription:—" In contrast to the strictly classical Sanskrit of the Girnar inscription, Rudradaman's coin legends, like the Brahmi legends of Nahapan, and indeed most of the coin legends of the western Kṣatraps are in a sort of mixed language which may be described either as Sanskrit with Prakrit or as Praksit with Sanskrit features." The inscriptions of

(52) Ibid, pp. 60.

(53) Jayadāman also was a Mahākṣatrap. How could he be called so, if he lost all the twelve provinces ?

(54) C. A. R. pp. 120, f. n. no. 1.

(55) Vol. II, pp. 352 and sequel. (Appendix B, about the Sudarśana lake). It has been shown there that all the epithets belong to Priyadarśin and not to Rudradāman.

(56) Ibid, pp. 121, para 96.

Nahapāṇ are in Brāhmi, while those of western Kṣatraps are in mixed script[57] as are their coins. We have given similar arguments in Vol. II, pp. 355.

(Note:—The difference in script does not definitely mean that Rudradāman was not the author of the inscription. In fact, he was the author[58], but he has not used in it the script commonly used in his times, Why ? On the same rock, there is a separate inscription by Samudragupta ? Why did Rudradāman not have one of his own ? Why did he get an inscription prepared side by side with that of Priyadarśin and in the same language ?[59] The argument that, there was want of space because the rest of the rock was taken up by Samudragupta is groundless because Rudradāman was his predecessor in point of time. I do not quarrel with the theory that Rudradāman was the author of this inscription. My difference of opinion is about the aim of the inscription. Details about the inscriptions of the other members of his dynasty will be given later on).

(5) In connection with twice defeating " Śātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpath " it is stated in the inscription[60]:—" On account of the nearness of their connection, he did not destory him." It is believed that they were related by marriage[61], and the curious thing about it is that inspite of Rudradāman being a victor, it was he who gave his daughter in marriage to the Śātakarṇi king. This belief is based on an inscription near the village of Kanheri, an account of which is given in paragraph 57 of C.A.R. (No. 17). There are some illegible words in the inscription and they are

(57) This proves that Chaṣṭhaṇ and Nahapāṇ belonged to different races. We have discussed this in vol. III, pp. 164 and sequel. This should be added to it.

(58) Vol. II, pp. 355. There I have given a slightly different version. The reader is requested. to take the version given here as more correct.

(59) Of course, there is a slight difference between Sanskrit of the Girnār inscription, and that of this inscription.

(60) Line 9 of the inscription. (E. I. vol. VIII, pp. 47. A translation is given there).

(61) F. n. no. 63 below.

interpreted to the effect that a daughter of the descendant of a king of Kārdamak family was married to the Śātakarṇi king of Dakṣiṇāpath. That descendant has been fixed up as Rudradāman. Now, there is no evidence to prove that Rudradāman was in any way connected with Kārdamak. As a matter of fact the Kanheri inscription has been misinterpreted. The real meaning is that though the king of Dakṣiṇāpath was twice defeated by Priyadarśin, yet he was allowed to remain alive because he had married a sister of his. This battle has been referred to in the inscription of Dhauli Jāguḍā, which was fought by Priyadarśin in the 9th year of his reign. At that time Kaling was under the power of Śātakarṇi, and he was also called the Lord of Kaling.[62] The battle took place in B. C. 280–1. Details about this will be given in the account of Āndhra kings. The Kārdamak mentioned in the Kanheri inscription was quite another Śātakarṇi king. The inscription was erected by the queen of king Hāla Śālivāhan, who when he ascended the throne, had assumed the name Pulumāvi. The queen in question was the daughter of king Kārdamak (Kadambak ?) who was defeated in a battle by the Śātakarṇi king. This took place in about B. C. 20–25. Details about this will be given given in this Vol. later on[63]. These details will show how events which happened at an interval of nearly three centuries have been intermixed and confused in connection with Rudradāman. In short, the theory of the conquest of the countries by Rudradāman, as mentioned in the Sudarśan-inscription, is quite ill-founded and requires a different interpretation.

(6) We now turn to the details of inscription itself. It consists of 20 lines in all. The first 16 are broken and the last four are in tact. In Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII, Dr. Keilhorn[64] states

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(62) Kaling was under different kings at different times. Here is given only one instance. Another instance is given on the authority of Yugapurāṇ, in Buddhiprakāś, vol. 76, pp. 88 to 102, by late Divān Bahādur Keśavlāl Dhruv. Extracts from that are given on pp. 349–50 of vol. III. This shows that the kings of the Śāta dynasty were lords of Kaling sometime.

(63) C. A. R. no. 17. Kanheri inscription.

(64) Ibid, pp. 37, last two lines.

that the space occupied by the whole inscription is 1900 inches. Out of this 275 inches or $\frac{1}{7}$ of the whole consists of broken spaces. This gives an idea to the reader of the lost part of the inscription.

The first two lines give a description of the Sudarśana Lake. Lines No. 3–4 and 5 tell us that the lake was repaired on the the last day of the dark half of Mārgaśirsa in the year 72, by Rudradāman, the grandson of Chasṭhaṇ. Lines No. 6 and 7 contain details about the two rivers Suvarṇasiktā and Palāsi and of Uryant (Ujyant–Girnār). Line No. 8 tells us that first it was built by Chandragupta Maurya and that it was repaired during the time of Aśoka. A misunderstanding has arisen about lines 9 to 11. Details about this have already been given in Vol. II, pp. 352. They are briefly these:—(A) "Vistrta......(ṇā) Āgarbhāt Prabhṛtya avihita samudita Rajlakṣmī"=The prosperity of the reign increased continuously right from the time he was in the womb. (B) He had taken a vow not to kill a man except in a battle. (C) He had conquered by his own valour the following countries:—Eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anūpadeś, Ānarta, Surāstra, Śvabhra, Maru, Cutch, Sindhu, Sauvir, Kukkur, Aparāṇt, Niṣād etc." In line 12 we get the information that he had conquered Yaudheya and the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpath and that he was again given the throne. Lines 13 and 14 contain eulogies of that king. Line 15 contains the mention of Rudradāman, who is stated to have given large sums of money for charitable purposes. In lines 16 to 20 we get details of the reparations of the broken dam, by an officer named Suviśākh, who is also praised in eulogistic terms.

The details given above will make it clear that all references to Rudradāmaṇ are over by the end of line No. 7. Next is given a history of the dam from the time of its first construction to the time of its reparation by Rudradāman. Then comes the description of the conquest of several countries by a king whose name is not given. Last of all is mentioned the fact that an officer named Suviśākh got it repaired during the time of Rudradāman. It is evident from this, that the king whose name is not given is not Rudradāman, because had his name been intended there, a

continuous description beginning with line 8 would have been given. Obviously, the king must have been a Mauryan one as the preceding lines contain the mention of the kings of that dynasty. Many reasons can be given to prove that the lines do not refer to Aśok. Details A, B, C, given above do not fit in with the life of Aśok. Probably Rudradāman wanted to institute a comparison between him and some king of the Mauryan dynasty, in those lines. Evidently he must have been a king who came after Aśok, because reference to him is given after Aśok. Now, Priyadarśin was the only powerful king after Aśok. Again details A, B and C given above fit in with his life (Vol. II. His account, and Appendix on Lake Sudarśan). It seems certain that one of the gaps in the inscription must have contained his name. Lines 8 to 15 thus refer to Priyadarśin and not to Rudradāman.

(7) The list of the names of the countries does not contain any mention of Rudradāman's conquest of Dakṣiṇāpath, whose king he let go alive not once but twice. This was his greatest conquest. The fact that no mention is made of it in the list indicates that the list does not refer to him.

(8) It might be argued that the fact that Priyadarśin got the lake repaired, which is based on Peterson's " Sanskrit and Prākṛt rock-edicts of Bhāvnagar State ", is baseless because no specific mention is made of Priyadarśin in that book.[65] In reply to this I have to state that I have never said that the book does contain the name of Priyadarśin.[66] I merely stated that the following is in brief the summary[67] of Prof. Peterson's conclusions:—" The dam was built by Viṣṇugupta during the rule of Chandragupta. It was repaired by an officer named Tupas or Tuṣuṣpa during the rule of Aśok. It was repaired for the second time during the rule of

(65) This point has been raised by Śrī Indravijayasūri in his booklet on Aśoka.

(66) Vol. II, pp. 352.

(67) Readers should please note, that I have never said that Prof. Peterson said so. I have made only a logical reference from his conclusions.

Cf. f. n. no. 68 below.

Priyadarśin......Of course Prof. Peterson has made no specific mention of Priyadarśin, but the inference[68] is quite logical". This extract will make it clear that I have never made an emphatic declaration to the effect that according to Prof. Peterson, Priyadarśin got it repaired a second time. In this connection I have further stated on the same page (vol. II, pp. 353):—" Line 8 contains the mention of Chandragupta; in subsequent lines Aśok is also mentioned. Then there comes a gap. Obviously the name of a successor of Aśok must have been there in the gap". That successor was Priyadarśin. On pp. 92 of "Buddhiprakāś", (Gūjarāt Vernācular Society) vol. 76, it has been stated by late Divān Bahādur Keśavlal Dhruv on the authority of Yugapurāṇ:—" Śāliśuka will harass the people of Saurāṣṭra and will make his elder brother Samprati famous by making Jainism an all powerful religion. Such is the prophecy". We have proved in vol. II, that Samprati was but another name of Priyadarśin and that Priyadarśin and Śāliśuk were brothers. I have shown in vol. II, pp. 355–57 that Sudarśan dam might have been repaired by Śāliśuk who acted as the governor of Saurāṣṭra. In short, details like this go to prove, the countries mentioned in the inscription were conquered by Priyadarśin

[Note:—The inscription has been misinterpreted so many times. It is obvious that further research might necessitate some changes in the original interpretation. For instance, no reference is made either to Priyadarśin or to Śāliśuk in Epigraphicā Indicā. A perusal of Prof. Peterson's interpretation on the other hand suggests the possibility of the name of Priyadarśin. Evidently, further research work is necessary about the inscription[69]].

Misinterpretations of inscriptions have often resulted into false theories about various events and kings. Notable instances of this are Priyadarśin and the Āndhra king, especially with regard to their religion.

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(68) Readers will now be convinced that I have not said emphatically at any time that Prof. Peterson said so. Cf. f. n. no. 67 above.

(69) F. n. no. 65. I draw Śrī Indravijayasūri's attention to this point, because he seems to take a keen interest in this subject.

It has been proved that the Kuśāns were staunch followers of Jainism, upto the end of the rule of Kaniṣka II. Scholars have committed the mistake of connecting them with Buddhism, as they have done in the case of many other dynasties and kings. We have also proved that the Chaṣṭhaṇs were Jains. We have proved these things on the evidence of coins and inscriptions.

Other misunderstandings

We have proved in vol. II, (chapter on coins) that the symbol of "Star and Crescent" belongs to Jainism. Coins on which this symbol is found must have been struck by kings who were followers of Jainism. In inscriptions also, the religious sign was inscribed at the very beginning. In the rock-edicts of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings, for instance, we have at the beginning, "Ṇamo Siddham", evidently a sign of Jainism. Prof. Rapson has described on pp. 59 to 62 of C.A.R. five rock-edicts (Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42), of the Chaṣṭhaṇa kings[70]. All the five edicts contain mention of charitable deeds only. There is no allusion to any political event in them. The Sudarśan inscription (i. e. no. 38) does contain mention of the conquest of countries. The main aim of the inscription, however, is not the commemoration or celebration of any conquests. The aim is to commemorate the fact that the dam was repaired by the order of a particular emperor, whose conquests are incidentally mentioned. Prof. Rapson says in this connection:—"Its immediate object is to record the reparation in the reign of Mahākṣatrap Rudradāman of the dam of the Sudarśan lake, which had burst during a violent storm". In the case of inscription no. 40, he

(70) For details vide that volume : Vide further in this vol. pt. XI, ch. VI.

No. 38 : Junāgaḍh. The date is the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśirṣa.

No. 39 : Gundā, by Rudrasimh I. The date is the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākh.

No. 40 : Junāgaḍh, by Rudrasimh I.

No. 41 : Muleśvar-Mulvāsar; by Rudrasen I; the date is the fifth of the dark half of Vaiśākh.

No. 42 : Jusdan, by Rudrasen I. The date is the fifth day of the dark half of Bhādrapad.

says[71]:—"The purport of the inscription cannot be ascertained; but it is probably Jaina in character and it contains the ancient name of Junāgaḍh (Girinagar)[72]". In short, these inscriptions were erected from the religious point of view, like most of the ancient inscriptions. Kings in those time were devoutly attached to their religion. This has been explained in details in vol. II. All the inscriptions, pillars, stūpas and gigantic idols of Priyadarśin were erected from the religious point of view only. Same is the case with the Sudarśan-lake inscription. This proves that it was not prepared with a view to celebrating the conquests either of Rudradāman or of Priyadarśin. Hence the theory, that it celebrates the conquests of various countries by Rudradāman is entirely ill-founded. Equally baseless is the theory, that it had anything to do with the agricultural department of the Maurya kings[73] (Further details will be given later on).

Jaina places of pilgrimage

Prof. Rapson has stated in connection with inscription no. 40, (vide at the top above):—"It contains the ancient name of Junāgaḍh (Girinagar)". This shows that the ancient name of Junāgaḍh was Girinagar and that Mt. Girnār must have stretched as far as the place of this inscription. The foot of a mountain is a sacred place of pilgrimage to followers of all religions. We have proved in vol. II, that all Mauryan emperors except Aśok were Jains. Some of them, like Chandragupta, became Jaina monks during the later part of their lives. Throughout their lives they performed many religious acts. The Sāñchī stūpas are an eloquent testimony to these deeds. One of them gave 40000 coins in charity for the lighting of a row of lamps. Full details about this are given in vol. I[74]. In fact Girnār was a sacred Jaina place in ancient times. Like Priyadarśin, Chandragupta also must have led a procession of pilgrims to the mountain (vol. II, pp. 342). Probably the lake must have been

(71) Ibid, pp. 61.

(72) For details read the next paragraph below.

(73) Details are given in vol. II, pp. 180. Readers are requested to read them.

(74) Vol. I, description of Avantī. References are made in several paragraphs.

previously built with a view to water-supply[75] to such large number of pilgrims. In short, places where inscriptions and edicts are found were sacred places of pilgrimage in those times.

The Chasṭhaṇa kings also visited Girnār many a time with a view to pilgrimage. Inscriptions nos. 38 and 42 contain some details of their religious performances. The question we have now to consider is whether all the five inscriptions signify places of Jaina pilgrimage or not. Two of them are near Junāgaḍh. One is at Gundā (a village in the district of Hālār in Kāṭhiāwāḍ), another is at Mulvāsar (a village in the Okhāmaṇḍal district in Kāṭhiāwāḍ), and the last is at Jasdan (a village in the Choṭilā hills in Kāṭhiāwāḍ). The first two at Junāgaḍh have already been proved to be signifying a Jaina holy place. Near Jasdan is a village named Āṇandpur which was called Vardhamānpur–Āṇandpur during the time of Mūlrāj Solaṅkī, because it was under the power of a king named Dhruvasen of Vardhamān. This has been proved[76], on the authority of copper plates[77], by me. In ancient times, Mt. Śatruñjay or Vimalgiri stretched upto this Āṇandpur. It has been proved that Śatrunjay was and is a sacred place of Jains[78]. We have also shown that Girnār was at that time but one of the ranges of Mt. Śatrunjay[79]. Hence Āṇandpur was a sacred place of the Jains in those times. The Chasṭhaṇas must have visited that place

(75) E. I. vol. VIII, pp. 46, line 11. A measurement is given there of a rift in the dam, (Read below). That measurement gives us an idea of the area of the dam. The measurement is:—"By a breach 420 cubits long, just as many broad and 75 cubits deep, all water escaped". A cubit is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 ft. So the gap was 800×800×150 ft.

(76) "Jain Dharmaprakāś" a monthly published from Bhāvnagar. V. E. 1985, no. 5, Śrāvaṇ, pp. 161–174.

G. V. S. Buddhiprakāś, 1934, pp. 318 to 322.

"The Gujarati", 1937, a weekly published from Bombay.

(77) Vide I. A. vol. XII. July, 1883, pp. 190.

(78) Jaina Dharmaprakāś, V. E. 1985, Vaiśākh number, pp. 58 to 73. "Jaina Jāgṛti", published from Ahmedabad. V. E. 1988, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 88 & seq.

(79) For details about the original area of Mt. Śatrunjay, vide "Jaina Jāgṛti" referred to in f. n. no. 78 above.

due to this reason. Full details are not yet available about Gundā and Mulvāsar. It may be possible that one of the 108 summits of Vimalgiri must have been situated near Mulvāsar in those times. Gundā, which is situated in Okhāmaṇḍal, must have had some connection[80] with Śrī Nemināth, the cousin of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

One inscription of Rudradāman has been found out near a village named Andhāu in Cutch[81], and bears no. 52. It also refers to a religious event. This place seems to have been connected with Bhadrāvatī or Bhadreśvar, the most ancient and sacred place of the Jains[82].

Some proofs are given below to the effect that the era of Chasthaṇ was begun in 103 A. D.

The time of Chaṣṭhaṇa era

(1) Bhārtṛdāman's time was from 211 to 217[83]. He was defeated by Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, who then started his own era. Thenceforth the Chasṭhaṇas moved to the adjoining territory. This took place in about 319 A. D. Subtracting 217 from 319, we get 102.

(2) Bhārtṛdāman was succeeded by Viśvasen (216–226); then came Rudrasiṃh II (227–239) and then Yaśodāman II (239–254). No details are available for the next sixteen years. Obviously, during the 54 years between 216 and 270, the Chasṭhaṇas seem to have been either under the tutelage of the king of Avantī and to have ruled over a small adjoining territory. During this time Chandragupta I and Samudragupta ruled supreme over the large empire of Avantī Samudragupta died in 374 A. D. (271 of the Chasṭhaṇa era), and was succeeded by Chandragupta II. During his time Svāmi Rudrasen III seems to have asserted his power and to have assumed the title Mahākṣatrap[84] after conquering a

(80) Some references have been made to this subject in f. n. nos. 77, 78 and 79. More details will be given later on.

(81) Cambridge Short History of India, pp. 82.

(82) Vol. I, pp. 167, f. n. no. 55.

(83) Pp. 61, the dynastic list of the Chaṣṭhaṇa rulers.

(84) From this we understand that the title "Svāmi" is inferior to the title "Mahākṣatrap". (Vol. III, pp. 147, f. n. no. 14).

large portion of the adjoining territory. He got his coins struck also, which bear no. 271 of the Chasṭhaṇa era.

(3) Svāmi Rudrasen III was succeeded one by one by three kings, each of them holding the title Svāmi. Their time was 271 to 311, i. e. 40 years. The weak rule of Chandragupta II was followed by the powerful suzerainty of Kumārgupta, who immediately after coming to throne in 413 A. D., defeated these Svāmis and thus the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty came to an end. That is the reason why we do not get any coins of these Svāmi rulers.

(4) Kumārgupta ruled from 413 to 456 A. D. His successor, Samudragupta ruled from 456 to 480 A. D. During the rule of these two powerful emperors, the Gupta empire reached its zenith. Then followed the weak rule of Kumārgupta II, and thus began the decline of the Gupta empire.

(5) During this Kumārgupta's time, the Gupta empire was divided into three or more parts. In the fifteenth year of Kumārgupta's rule, the Hūṇs[85] under the leadership of Tormāṇ invaded India and entered Avantī after establishing mastery over western and central India, in about 490 A. D. Kumārgupta fled from Avantī and took shelter in Kanoj where ruled the Parihār Rājputs, who had established their power over northern India. Kanoj was the capital of this empire, and in the sixth century there ruled over Kanoj the famous king Harṣa. The remaining part of the western empire, consisting of Saurāṣṭra and Gūjarāt was taken over by Bhaṭṭārak, the commander of the Gupta forces. He founded his dynasty there with Vallabhīpur as the seat of capital, a year or two after 490 A. D. The southern part of the empire was taken over by the Traikūṭakas and Chālūkyas at about this time or within a few years after this.

(6) Emperor Harṣa died leaving no issue behind him. His brother-in-law, Gṛhavarman[86], came to the throne. He belonged to the Maukhari clan of Rājputs, who were probably a branch of

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(85) The dynastic list of the Hūṇs may thus be arranged:—(1) Tormāṇ A. D. 490 to 510=20 years; (2) Mihırkūl A. D. 510 to 533=23 years.

(86) For the dynastic list of these rulers, vide vol. I, pp. 187. For further details about them vide vol. III, pp. 319, f. n. no. 25.

the Samvrijis. Gṛhavarman was succeeded by his son Bhogvarman, who in turn was succeeded by his son Yaśovarman. We have already stated that scholars like Siddhasen Divāker, Bappabhaṭṭsūri and Vākpatirāj flourished during the time of Yaśovarman and his son Āmradev[87]. By his valour, Yaśovarman had earned the name, Vikramāditya.

(7) Tormān, the Hūṇa chief, was succeeded by his son Mihirkūl, on the throne of Avantī. He persecuted the people to the utmost. The people at last united[88] and decided to rise in rebellion against him in 531–33 A. D. On Mt. Ābu, they took a vow in front of fire out of which four Rājput clans came out[89]. They led an expedition against Mihirkūl, defeated him on the field of battle and exterminated the Hūṇs root and branch. Details have already been given in vol. III, pp. 318 and sequel.

(8) During the rule of the Chasṭhaṇas (pp. 61 for the dynastic list. Many persons intervened Dāmsen, the eighth ruler, and Yaśodāman, the ninth ruler) there flourished a general named Iśvardatta of the Ābhir community, from 261 to 264, i. e. 158 to 161 of their era. He was appointed as governor over a region near the source of the Godāvarī. Taking advantage of the weakness of his overlord, he became independent, assumed the title Mahāksatrap and founded his own dynasty. The power of these Ābhir chiefs slackened for a time But during the time of Kumārgupta II, the Ābhir chief named Dharsen founded the Traikūṭaka dynasty. Details about this are given on pp. 303 to 312 of vol. III.

Thus the mighty empire of Avantī ended in 5th century A. D. Just as the Mauryas were the last emperors of the Magadha empire, so were the Guptas the last torch-bearers of the empire of Avantī. Many new details have been given above and enough evidence has also been attached to make them convincing. Below is given a chronological list of the events referred to in this part.

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(87) Vol. III, pp. 26–27 and 208–209.

(88) A fine instance of unity in times of stress and storm.

(89) Details about them are given in vol. III, pp. 319, f. n. no. 22. This was the origin of the Rājputs, who took over themselves the duty of protecting the people. They took a vow to this effect beforefire.

A. D.	
31 to 71	Kadaphisis I
71 to 103	Kadaphisis II
103 to 126	Kaniṣka I
103 to 117	Kṣatrap Ghṣamotik
103	founding of the Kuśāna era by Kaniṣka I
103	Though the Chasṭhana era was founded by Chasṭhan in 143 A.D. but the dating was begun from 103 A.D. the year in which his father Ghṣamotik was made a Kṣatrap
106	Sārnāth inscription by Kaniṣka I
112	Mathurā inscription by Kaniṣka I
116–17	Death of Kṣatrap Ghṣamotik. Chasṭhan came to the throne
117–132	Chasṭhan as Kṣatrap
121	Māṇikyāl inscription by Kaniṣka I
126–32	Vasiṣka—Vazeṣka—Zuṣka
127	Isāpur inscription by Vāsiṣka
128	Birth of Kaniṣka II
131	Sāñchī inscription by Vāsiṣka
132	Mathurā inscription by Vāsiska
132	Chasṭhan was raised to Mahākṣatrapi (probably by the time of the death of Vāsiṣka).
132–142	Chasṭhan as Mahākṣatrap (Kaniṣka II as a minor)
132–142	Huviṣka as the regent of Kaniṣka II

A. D.	
136	Mathurā inscription by Huviṣka as a king
142	Coronation of Kaniṣka II : Mahākṣatrap Chasṭhan became an independent king
142	The construction of the joint idol of Kaniṣka II and Chasṭhan
142	Chasṭhan became the ruler of Avantī
142–152	Chasṭhan as ruler of of Avantī
142–198	Kaniṣka II as the ruler of Mathurā
144	Arā inscription, Kaniṣka II as emperor
145	Chasṭhan defeated the king of Āndhra and drove him in the south
152	Chasṭhan's death, Jayadāman as Mahākṣatrap (?)
152	Jayadāman's death(?) Rudradāman became Mahākṣatrap
152–175	Rule of Mahākṣatrap Rudradāman
154	Vardak inscription by emperor Huviṣka
163	Mathurā inscription by Huviṣka
199–236	The rule of Vāsudev I
236–286	The rule of the last seven Kuśāna kings
282–6	The founder of the Gupta dynasty brought about the end of the Kuśāna dynasty and became the ruler of Mathurā.

Part 10

PART 10

SOUTH INDIA



Chapter I

Chedi dynasty

Synopsis:—*Chedi deś—a summary of the description given in vol. I.—Relation between the Chedi deś and the Chedi dynasty—Chedi is not the name of any country, or of a caste or of a place; some theories of its origin—The three branches of the Chedi dynasty—The boundaries of the Chedi deś—An account of the political condition of Kaling from the death of emperor Karkaṇḍu to the beginning of the rule of king Kṣemrāj.*

(1) *Kṣemrāj:—His dynasty and his relation with Mahāmeghvāhan—His life, the duration of his rule, and his territorial extent—The seat of his capital, the change in it and the religious significance lying behind it—Why did Nandwardhan invade Kaling, for political motive or for religious motive?*

(2) *Vṛddhirāj:—An account of his life.*

CHEDI DYNASTY

In the first nine parts of these volumes, we gave an account of the countries of northern India and of the dynasties that ruled over them. Now we turn to south India. We shall find that south India had not as many dynasties as the north. One reason for this is the comparatively uncivilized condition of south India. North India, as we know, was the home of Āryan civilization. As time went on, this civilization began to spread in south India and at last south India became almost as civilized as north India. The inroads of Āryan culture were mainly due to the invasions and expeditions of the kings of north India over south India. Some of the conquerors founded colonies there and thus came into direct contact with the natives. This direct impact resulted into an extensive spread of the Āryan civilization. In short south India became Āryanized.

Preliminaries

The Āryan conquerors of south India began to appoint their governors over conquered parts of south India. These governors were mostly members of the royal family or very near relatives of the conquerors. When they found their overlords weak, they began to establish independent kingdoms of their own. Such independent kingdoms, were, however, few. Two independent and great empires also sprung up, and in the following pages we shall give a detailed account of these empires. One was the Kalinga empire and the other was the Āndhra empire. The Chedi dynasty found the first, and Śatvahan dynasty found the second. We begin with the account of the Chedi dynasty.

Details have been given in vol. I, pp. 160 and sequel. A king of the region died leaving no son behind him. According to the custom of the country, a female elephant with a jar full of water was made to perambulate the city and as she sprinkled water on Karkaṇḍu, he was elected king. On pp. 136 to 141 of vol. I, is given a description of Mahākośal or Kuśasthal. There we have proved that Karkaṇḍu was the son of queen Padmāvatī and king Daḍhivāhan. Separated from his parents by a decree of fate, he became the king of Kaling in the manner stated above. Certain circumstances

The Chedi dynasty

led him to invade Mahākośal or Anga over which ruled his father Daḍhivāhan. Had not Padmāvatī, who had become a Jaina nun, intervened and informed them of the sacred relation between them, a terrible fight would have taken place with consequences unknown. As a result, Karkaṇḍu inherited his father's kingdom and began to call himself the lord of Trikaling[1]. He belonged to the Chedi dynasty. (For details read the next paragraph). He assumed the name Meghvāhan[2], in conformity with his father's name. After some years he renounced his kingdom and became a Jaina monk. As he died without leaving a son behind him, Śreṇik of Magadh annexed the kingdom to the Magadh empire[3], and thus came into vogue the term "Anga-Magadh". Details have already been given in volume I.

The origin of the term "Chedi"

It has been stated in vol. I, that Saṁvriji Ksatriyas were divided into 18 branches, some of which were Lichchhavī, Malla, Śākya etc. (pp. 27 and 120). We have also seen that the Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyās, the Cholās and others were also branches of the same (vol. I, pp. 347). In the account of the Mauryas in vol. II, we have shown that the "New Mauryans" of south India were originally Mauryas themselves, and that generals Chuṭkānand and Mūlānand were relatives of Nanda kings. The founder of the Āndhra dynasty, Śimukh by name, was the son of Mahāpadma, the second Nanda king. (Details will be given in the account of the Śatavahana dynasty). Again Mahārathis, Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas, being the sub-sections of New Mauryas and the groups who emigrated with Mūlānand and Chuṭukānand, also probably belonged to the Samvriji group. In short most of the dynasties of north India were of Saṁvriji origin. It is possible that Daḍhivāhan also belonged to one of these

(1) For details about Trikaling, read further in the chapter.

(2) The term "Meghvāhan" is a proper noun as well as title. Kumârpāl, the Solankī king of Gūjarāt was for example called "Meghvāhan".

(3) If Śreṇik annexed Kaling to the Magadha empire, then the ruling dynasty must either have ended or the king must have come under the tutelage of Magadh. Details will be given later on.

eighteen branches. It is possible that Chedi was the name of a branch or of a sub-branch of the Saṁvriji clan.

That no mention of the term Chedi is made in the Buddhist books, points to the fact that the term must not have existed in Lord Buddha's time. Again, none of the countries, over which Karkaṇḍu established power bore any such name. Nor did any rock or castle or city in those countries bear that name. It is possible that the origin of the name had some connection with a major event in the life of Karkaṇḍu. Details given in vol. I, show that the prophecy of his becoming a king was connected with the cutting of a bamboo (Vaṁś). So, the country may have been named Vaṁś (It also means a dynasty) and the term Chedi may have been a deteriorated form of "Chhedan" (cutting). The country, over which the king of so named dynasty ruled, may have later on begun to be called by the same name. There is no mention of this term in ancient Buddhist and Vedic books[4]. Thus we see that the term "Chedi" had probably a very curious origin, and the term must have come into existence with Meghvāhan in about 558 B.C.[5]. In short, the Chedi dynasty was founded in 558 B. C. by Meghvāhan.

Meghvāhan died in 537 B. C. leaving no son behind him. According to the federal system of government which prevailed in

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(4) Vedic books tell us that a race named "Chet" inhabited Vidarbha, the modern Berar. (Vide Jain Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, vol. III, pp. 373). Cunningham has stated in his "Book of Ancient Eras", pp. 9, that the Chedi kings of the Kalchuri dynasty were natives of Chhatisgadh and Bustar. The seat of their capital was Boramdev. They advanced as far as Jubbalpore. This makes it clear that these "Chets" have no connection with the Chedi dynasty. The Vedic books also contain a mention of a dynasty named Irā or Ilā. (Vide the account of Khārvel). In ancient Jaina books the term "Chedides" is often mentioned.

(5) In vol. I. it is stated that this event took place in 565 or 563 or 559–558. Further research tells me that the most likely date is 558–59.

If no. 103 mentioned in the Hāthīguṁfā inscription, may be accepted as belonging to the Chedi era, then the numbers stated above would mean 462, 460 and 456 B. C. respectively. Details will be given later on.

those times, Śreṇik annexed his kingdom to the Magadha empire. Some details have already been given in vol. I and some others will be given in the account of Kṣemrāj. Kūṇik, the son of Śreṇik, was governed by a passion to extend his empire. This gave a hard blow to the federal system. His son Udāyin invaded and conquered many southern countries. He was succeeded by weak rulers, Anuruddha and Muṇd. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Kṣemrāj, a descendant of Karkāṇḍu. established his independent power over Kaling. This re-established the Chedi dynasty.

The three periods of the Chedi dynasty

The Chedi dynasty was divided into three periods. The first began with the reign of Meghvāhan and ended with his death, and the subsequent annexation of his kingdom by Śreṇik, B. C. 558 to 537 = 21 years. The second period consits of the interregnum beginning with 537 B. C. and the re-establishment of the Chedi dynasty by Kṣemrāj in 474 B. C.= 63 years[6]. The third began with the reign of Kṣemrāj and ended in 361 B. C.= 113 years. The total comes to 197 years.

Hence we are concerned with the last period. It consisted of five kings. When the 4th king died in 372 B. C. however, Chandragupta Maurya annexed the kingdom to the Magadha empire. Hence, the third period had really lasted for 103-4 years and not for 113 years as stated above. The total time thus would be 187-88 years. The question we have to consider from this is, whether no. 103 in the Hāthīgumfā inscription has any connection with the Chedi dynasty. The answer is of course in the negative, became Khārvel, the author of the inscription, could not have known how long his dynasty was to last.

Scholars have a different theory about the Chedi dynasty. They state that the first period of the Chedi dynasty consisted of Kṣemrāj, Khārvel and others, (whom we have put in the third

(6) Reasons of fixing this time for king Kṣemrāj have been stated in vol. I, in the account of the Chedi dynasty. Scholars have fixed the time as the second century B. C. Details will be given in the account of Khārvel. The mootest point is no. 103 in the Hāthīgumfā inscription.

period[7]). The second period, according to them began in B. C. 249, and the third period in 11th century A. D.

It is certain that the period in which Kṣemrāj flourished ended in B. C. 372, or at the most in B. C. 361, when the Chedideś was annexed to the kingdom of Magadh[8]. At the end of the Mauryan dynasty, the country came under the rule of the Śātvahana kings. Taking advantage of a weak Śātvahana king, Chaṣṭhaṇ brought the country under his power, at the end of whose dynasty the Guptas established their power over it, and continued to be its masters till the end of the dynasty in the 5th century A. D. In spite of this, a belief exists that a certain Iśvardatta of the Kalchuri dynasty established his power over a certain region in 249 A. D. and started the Çhedi era[9]. In chapter eleventh, vol. III, we have proved on the authority of rock-edicts that Iśvardatta did not belong to the Kalchuri dynasty, and that he called himself Ābhir. He was a Traikūṭak who flourished about 249 A. D. The seat of his capital was in the region around the source of the Godāvarī. It is not known whether he ever established his power over Chedideś. Probably Chedideś was under the power of the Chaṣṭhaṇas and the Guptas during all that time. It is not known on what grounds Iśvardatta has been connected with Chedideś. Scholars have some how enunciated the theory that Chedideś came under the power of the Kulchuri kings and that the Chedi era was stated from that time[10].

Scholars are silent as to when this second period ended. They

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(7) For the authenticity of this inscription vide the description of the Hāthīgumfā inscription. Khārvel himself states that he belonged to the third branch. Read line no. 3.

(8) This name is given here because here we are concerned with its account.

(9) The Kalchuri kings are known as Trikūṭakas. For details read "Kanarise dynasty" by Dr. Fleet in "Proceedings of the Aryan Section of the Seventh Oriental Congress"; or the article by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indraji in Bombay Gazetteer, pp. 249 and sequel.

(10) "Chronology of India" by Duff, pp. 226 (details about 249 A. D.):— "A. D. 249 current, Sunday 26th, August or Asvin, Sud 1, Kaliyuga 3350 expired, epoch of Çhedi era; Ind. Ant. xvii, pp. 215-16."

however consider the third period to have begun in the 11th century A. D.; when the Kalchūri kings began to rule over Chedi deś, and restarted the Chedi era. The scholars also say that the other name for the era was the Kalchūri era, the name being based on the dynastic name of the rulers. In fact, it is believed that the Kalchūri kings were the founders of the Chedi era, there having been started no era during the first two periods. In short, they think that the Chedi era was founded during the rule of the Kalchūri kings. These Kalchūri kings, it is believed, had no blood-relationship with Meghvāhan and his descendants.

The boundaries of Chedi deś

We have seen in vol. I, that the original name of the country over which the Chedi kings established their rule was Vaṁś. In connection with the boundaries of this country Sir Cunningham[11] says:-"Boramdev, the capital in Chhatisgadh or Mahakoshal, which formed the old kingdom of Chedi or Kalchuris......" This means that the region consisting of the districts Chhattisgaḍh, Bilāspur and Rāipur, was called Mahākośal in those times and that the seat of its capital was somewhere near Boramdev. In ancient books, Mahākośal is called Kuśasthal, a name that suits the character of the country[12]. At present its major part is full of forests inhabited by beasts of prey. We know that king Dadhivāhan of Anga had gone out on an elephant on a pleasure trip with his pregnant queen Padmāvatī (vol. I, pp. 130). The elephant then ran away into an eastern forest together with the queen on his back. If we accept the boundaries stated by Sir Cunningham for Vaṁśdeś, everything would be alright[13]. Thus the country which was called Mahākośal or Kuśasthal during the times of Mahābhārat, was called Vaṁśa during the 6th century B. C. It consisted of the modern districts of Chhattisgaḍh and Bastar. We may fix up thus the boundaries of Vaṁśa as follows:—

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(11) Book of Ancient Eras, Intro. pp. 9.

(12) Vol. I, pp. 135, f. n. no. 118. Kuśa=a kind of grass, which grows in plenty in that region.

(13) Scholars stick to the opinion that Anga consisted of the region around the modern district of Bhāgalpur in Bengal.

Chhoṭānāgpur and Revā States on the north, the Godāvarī on the south, Utkal and Orissā in the east, and Vidarbha and Anga in the west[14]. This seems to be supported by an article in I. H. Q.[15]:—"The country to the west of Orissa was known as the Dakshina Kosal or Chedi". All scholars, however, are not unanimous about the boundary. A scholar[16] states:—"Chedi was the country adjoining Bhojkat or Avantī on the east". This means that the boundaries of Chedi deś extended as far as the districts of Hośangābād and Nimār. This does not seem to be true, because these districts formed a part of Vidarbha or Anga, the capital of which was Champānagarī where Priyadarśin got the Rupnāth rock-edict erected. Another scholar[17] states on the authority of Colonel Todd:—"Chanderi, a town in Malwa, was the capital of Shishupal, who was killed by Krishna. (J. A. S. B., vol. XV); according to Fuhrer, Dahalmandal was the ancient Chedi; according to some, it comprised the southern portion of Budelkhand and northern portion of Jubbulpore. Rewa Kalāñgar was the capital of Chedi under the Gupta kings. Chedi was also called Tripuri". Thus different scholars hold different views about the boundaries of Chedi deś. One reason for this is that some have based the theory on the Chedi deś proper, and some on the territory under the power of the Chedi dynasty. Different kings of the dynasty are bound to have at least some variety in their territorial extents. During the times with which we are concerned, Anga was in the west, Vaṁśa or Mahākośal was in the centre, and Kaling was in the south and east. But the modern districts of Sambalpur, Pūrī, Angūl and Kaṭak in Orissā, did not form a part of Kaling. They were annexed to the Kalinga kingdom by Kṣemrāj. A writer[18] has truly observed:—"Cheti or Chedi is the well-known Vedic and classical ruling family. This

(14) Cf. f. n. no. 13 above.

(15) Ibid, 1929, no. 5, pp. 612.

(16) J. A. S. B. vol. 21, pp. 257; Aśok by Dr. Bhāṇḍārker, pp. 35. Pulinda was situated on its borders. (Sabhāparva).

(17) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 14.

(18) J. B. O. R. S. 1927, vol. 13, pp. 222 and sequel.

branch of the Chedis seems to have migrated intó Orissa from Maha-koshal, as the Oriya Manuscript (J. B. O. R. S. III, pp. 482) suggests". Prof. Rhys Davids in his "Buddhist India", pp. 26 states:– "The Chedis were probably the same tribe as that called Chedi in older documents and had two distinct settlements. One, probably the older, was in the mountains[19] in what is now called Nepal. The other, probably a later colony was near Kosambi to the east, and has been even confused with the land of Vamsa". Another scholar says[20]:—"Tripuri[21] seems to have been the capital of Chedi. They were called the rulers of Dahala or Chedi". We need not bother ourselves with all these theories. It is sufficient for our purposes to know that Anga, Vaṁśa and Kaling were situated side by side and stretched from west to east.

After Karkaṇḍu

We have stated that the first period of the Chedi dynasty began with the reign of Karkaṇḍu and ended with his death, and that the third period began with the reign of Ksemrāj. We shall here attempt to show what happened in between these two periods, so that a connected link may be established for the whole dynasty.

Karkaṇḍu died in 537 B. C. leaving no son behind him. Śreṇik annexed the kingdom to the Magadha empire. Karkaṇḍu was the lord of Trikaling consisting of Anga, Vaṁśa and Kaling. The new term that came into existence after the annexation was "Anga-Magadhā". This suggests that out of the three countries only one, Anga, was annexed by Śreṇik. Otherwise the new term must have been Trikaling–Magadhā. Ajātśatru, who succeeded Śreṇik on the throne, changed the seat of his capital from Rājgṛhī to Champāpurī, the capital of Anga, in 525–24 B. C. Probably Śreṇik must have given the throne to Karkaṇḍu's son-in-law[22], and hence he must have been accepted by him as the overlord. This means that actual

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(19) It would have been better if any piece of evidence was given.

(20) A. E. vol. II, pp. 302.

(21) Tripurī was another name of Jubbulpore, not far from which is the rock-edict of Rupnāth, near which was situated Champāpurī. (Cf. f. n. no. 13 above).

(22) Vol. I, pp. 164, f. n. no. 46.

annexation of Trikaling must not have taken place during the reign of Śreṇik. Ajātśatru, however, being more covetous of acquiring land, must have effected the annexation, with the consequent change in the seat of capital. Even he must have annexed only Anga, and allowed the other two to remain under the power of the said son-in-law[23]. This state of affairs continued upto 492 B. C., by which time Ajātśatru was dead and his son Udāyin had already come to the throne. During these times, kings were becoming more and more greedy of land[24] and wholesale annexations began to take place. So, during Udayāśva's reign his commander-in-chief, Nāgadaśak, who later on founded the Nanda dynasty and assumed the name Nandivardhan, in accompaniment of Anuruddha, the heir-apparent, conquered all the territory upto Ceylon[25], including Vaṁśa and Kaling. Thus ended for the time being the ruler of the Chedi dynasty.

During the second period, two kings of the dynasty ruled over Chedi deś. Their names were Śobhanrāy and Chaṇḍrāy. The two other names, Sulochan and Surath were probably other names of Dadhivāhan and Karkaṇḍu or of Kankaṇḍu alone. Hence they refer to the first period of the dynasty. From 492 B. C. to 475 B. C. the last year of the rule of Anuruddha, Trikaling was a part of the Magadha empire., During the weak rule of his brother Mund, whose reign lasted for two years only, a state of anarchy prevailed; various parts of the empire, entrusted to governors, became independent. Kṣemrāj established independent power over Vaṁśa and Kaling. He may have been the governor of these countries. He may as well have been an outside invader. We do not know. He was a distant relation[26] of Meghvāhan. This took

(23) We cannot forward any piece of evidence in support of this.

(24) Vol. I, Kuṇik–Ajātśatru lost his life while attempting to cross the Vindhyā ranges. This incident is mentioned in Jaina books.

(25) This greed for land was the result of the evil influence of the fifth Ārā. By the time of Nandivardhan it became a common practice of kings.

(26) Had he been a near relation, he would have got the throne after the death of Karkaṇḍu, in the place of his son-in-law. That he was a direct descendant is mentioned in the Hāthīgumfā inscription by Khārvel. For the origin of the term Mahāmeghvāhan read further.

place in 475 B. C. In this year thus began the third period of the Chedi dynasty.

(1) KṢEMRĀJ

He was a distant relation of Meghvāhan,[27] the founder of the dynasty. Probably he was a direct descendant of Meghvāhan[28]. The question we have to consider here is why was the founder called Mahāmeghvāhan, and why is his dynasty called Chedi.

First we turn to the word Mahāmeghvāhan. When Karkaṇḍu came to the throne, he did not know anything about his parentage or family or native place. It is probable that when he ascended the throne, he assumed one of the two names, Surath or Sulochan, if they are proved to have been the names of the same individuals. We know that his mother Padmāvatī became instrumental in preventing a horrible fight between him and his father Dadhivāhan and in thus acquainting him with his parentage and family. In all probability from thence he assumed the name Meghvāhan in order to sound it in conformity with Dadhivāhan, his father's name. After the death of his father, he inherited the kingdom of Anga, thus enlarging his kingdom, in commemoration of which he might as well have prefixed "Mahā" to his name, in order to signify greatness. Another explanation of the name Mahāmeghvāhan is as follows:—In Kaling, there is a Jaina holy place named Sametśikhar. At present the foot of the mountain is in Bengal. But the mountain was much larger in area in those times, like Śatrunjay in Saurāṣṭra. In those times Sametśikhar stretched from Bengal to Madras, and the foot of the mountain was[29] in the modern district of Ganjam where, near Dhauli–Jāgauḍā[30] Priyadarśin got

(27) The authors of the Purāṇas seem to believe that the Chedi kings held the title Mahāmeghvāhan. It has been stated on pp. 374 of Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, vol. III, that the kings referred to as holders of the title "Megh" were those to whose dynasty Khārvel belonged. It has now been proved that the Chedis came from Mahākośal; so the details given above refer to them.

(28) F. n. no. 27 above.

(29) The face of the earth, as the scientists believe, is constantly changing. No wonder then that the foots of the mountains changed.

(30) Dhauli and Jāgauḍā are situated at the distance of 125 miles from

erected rock–edicts as marks of his devotion to religion. In short the whole region was hilly[31] and full of forests. Now, forests always cause a great amount of rainfall. Hence, the ruler of this forest territory might have assumed the significant title Meghvāhan i. e. bringer of rainfall. Any way Mahāmeghvāhan was another name of Karkaṇḍu. (More details will be given in the account of Hāthigumfā).

Now we turn to the origin of the term "Chedi." and its connection with Meghvāhan. Some details about this term have already been given. We have stated that "Chedi" was derived from "Chhedan" (cutting). This is my theory.

Scholars offer a different theory. In the first line of the Hāthigumfā inscription, Khārvel calls himself the descendant of "Air or Ail Mahāmeghvāhan Chedirāj." In connection with "Air or Ail" a writer[32] says:—"Aira, a descendant of Irā or Ilā, identifies one of the main dynastic divisions to which the Chedis do belong according to the Puranas" (Pargiter. J. R. A. S. 1900. pp. 11–26). This means that the Chedis are a branch of Irā or Ilā. In Vedic books, it has been stated that Vidarbha was inhabited by a race named "Cheṭ".[33]

The late Paṇḍit Jayasvāl wrote an article in "Nāgri Prachāriṇi" (Kārtik number), on Hāthigumfā inscription. A translation of the article has appeared in "Jaina Sāhitya Sanśodhak" Vol. III, no. 3, pp. 366 and seq. On pp. 369 it is stated, that some of the words have disappeared. At certain places there are rifts in the stone,

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each other. Both are spoken together to have been at the foot of Mt. Sametśikhar on account of the following reasons:—(1) One must have been situated at one point of the foot and the other at the other. (Read f. n. above). (2) As proof of this, it may be stated that Priyadarśin got a part–a few of the numbers–of religious doctrines inscribed at one place, and the rest at the other. (3) Scholars have always spoken of them together, thus suggesting close relation between them. (For the relation of these places to Priyadarśin read his account in vol. II).

(31) King Vakragrīva, the helper of Chandragupta Maurya, was called the king of hilly regions.

(32) J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII, 1927 A. D. pp. 223.

(33) F. n. no. 4 above.

and at certain other places chips have worn off. Water has worked havoc on the stone and some signs which were not their original have been wrought out by such forces of nature, in course of time. The first line is found to be tact and gives us details about Khārvel's dynasty. But some imperceptible changes must have taken place there also. Thus the whole inscription requires a close scrutiny at the hand of experts.

His place in the dynasty

In the Hāthīgumfā inscription, Khārvel calls himself the son of Vṛddhirāj and the grandson of Kṣemrāj. The word "Tatiyo" in the second line of the inscription refers to the third period of the dynasty, and does not mean that Khārvel was the third king in the dynasty, as is believed by scholars. In the 5th Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1929, Dr. Baruā of Āsām, read an article on Khārvel, in which he stated (if I do not err) that Khārvel was the sixth in the dynasty. This means that Kṣemrāj was the fourth king. We have already stated that the names of the two preceding kings, the second and the third, were Śobhanrāy and Chaṇḍrāy (vol. I, pp. 165, f. n. no. 46). This[34] has been supported by other sources also. (For details, read the account of the Hāthīgumfā inscription.) The dynastic list has already been given in vol. I. We draw the notice of the readers to the fact that Kṣemrāj was the fourth, and not the first king, of the dynasty.

He established independent power over Kaling in 475–4 B. C. and ruled for 36 years.[35] Thus his reign ended in 439 B. C.[36] We do not know at what age he came to the throne. But the fact that he successfully resisted the onslaught of a powerful invader like Nandivardhan, shows that he must have been a seasoned warrior by the time he came to the throne. Hence, he

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(34) Vol. I, pp. 278, f. n. no. 9. "Anekānt" a monthly that was formerly published from Delhi. In vol. I, nos. 3 to 6. This topic has been discussed by Muni Kalyāṇvijayaji and other scholars, and have come to the conclusion that this dynastic list is not very reliable. It has, however, thrown much new light on the problem.

(35) This has been generally accepted by scholars.

(36) Vol. I, pp. 359. See the dynastic list there.

must have come to the throne at least after 30. Thus he must have been nearly 70 by the time of his death.

His age and his territorial extent

We now turn to his territorial extent. We have stated that either he must have been the governor of the countries over which he established independent power or must have invaded and conquered them. In the second case, there must have been very little territory in his power before the seizure of these two countries. In B. C. 468, he had to fight a pitched battle against Nandivardhan[37]. Even before this battle was fought, he had conquered all the territory in which are situated at present the districts of Sambalpur Pūrī, Angūl and Kaṭak, because these districts were not within the boundaries of Kaling. The fact that Nandivardhan took away the Jaina idol from Kaṭak, shows that it was not under his power. This is also supported by a statement found on pp. 482 of J. O. B. R. S. Vol. III. (quoted on pp. 95). In short, the Uriya districts[38], now called Orissā, which were on the N. E. of Kaling, were conquered by Kṣemrāj between 475 to 468 B. C., and thus he had expanded the boundary of the Kalinga kingdom from the Mahānadī to the Suvarṇarekhā. In order to keep proper order in his thus enlarged kingdom, he changed the seat of his capital to a place near the lake Chilkā, which is situated near Jagannāthpūri. The capital of Vamśa, as the Buddhist books tell us, was Dantapur, and that of Kaling was Kanchanpur. We do not know what name he gave to the new seat of his capital. We deduce from the rock-edict of Priyadarśin, however, that the name must have been Tansūliyanagarī[39].

This place was politically very important, and was one of the reasons of the frequent battles between the kings of Magadh and

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(37) Vol. I, pp. 371, the chronological list there.

(38) The name may be "Uriya" or "Uḍa"; it was the native place of the people who at that time inhabited Orissā. For the importance of this province in reference to him and to his religion, read further.

(39) It is possible that Tansūliya was the name of the region in which the capital was situated. (Line. no. 6, Hāthīgumfā inscript ion).

Kaling. It is probable that the change in the seat of capital was effected by Khārvel, because it was he, who got the canal from the Ganges, dug by Nandivardhan, extended to this city. This is mentioned in line no. 6 of the Hāthīgumfā inscription. No previous line contains any mention of its having been conquered by him. Hence, it must have been conquered either by his father Vrddhirāj or by his grandfather Kṣemrāj. The rule of Vrddhirāj being of a very short duration, he had hardly any time to conquer new territories. Hence, the conquest must have been achieved by Ksemrāj, who spent almost all his life in warfare. This is supported by the fact mentioned in the Hāthigumfā inscription, that the Jaina idol was taken away from that city by Nandivardhan during his time.

Thus, the Kaling empire extended upto the Suvarṇarekhā or further in the north, the Godāvarī in the south, the ocean in the east and the region consisting of the districts of Chattisgaḍh and Bustar in the west. Anga was probably not included in the Kalinga empire. Nandivardhan invaded Kaling in B. C. 468 and took away the Jaina idol. Realizing that it was no use fighting, they both did not bother themselves with any more warfares.

Kṣemrāj first established himself as the ruler of Vamśa and Kaling, Anga having been annexed to the Magadha empire. We have stated that Dantpur was the capital of Vamśa and Kañcanpur of Kaling (Vol. I. pp. 143). Vamśa consisted of the modern districts of Chattisgaḍh and Bustar, and hence Dantpur must be located somewhere there. Kaling consisted of the region between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, and hence Kañcanpur must have been somewhere in that region. When Ksemrāj extended his kingdom upto the Suvarṇarekhā, he changed the seat of his capital to a place situated near the lake Chilkā. We do not know whether this change was effected earlier.

The capital of Kaling

Scholars hold different theories about the capital of Chedi. Some believe that the seat of the capital was Kañcanpur[40], others

(40) Read the account given above. It was situated near Jagannāthpurī near the lake Chilkā. For details vide next chapter.

incline towards Kapilpur[41], Dantpur[42] and Maṇipur[43]. At present their names respectively are Jagannāth[44], Vijaynagar[45], Rājmahendri[46] and Ganjām. Some suggest[47] Kaling was divided into two parts, north and south Kaling, with Sinhpur as the capital of the north and Rājpurī[48] or Yayātinagar[49] as the capital of the south. The other name was Pritūdakadarbh (pp. 4 of the same book). Ādinagar was another name of Yayātinagar which is at present called Sonpur, and which is situated on the Mahā (pp. 15). The same writer has also suggested Kalingnagarī which is on the west of the rock-edict of Priyadarśin at Dhauli (pp. 23). The towns of Pateli and Korangā which are 8 to 10 miles from Pūrī, are also suggested as the capitals of Kaling. It is also stated[50] that Śrīkakul was the name of the capital of Kaling, while another writer[51] says on the authority of Magesthenes that the name was Parthilyse. Thus, various names have been suggested; the situation is however in the region 20 to 25 miles from Jagannāthpurī.

His religion and the importance of the seat of his capital

It has been proved on the evidence of coins and inscriptions that he was a follower of Jainism, like his ancestor Karkaṇḍu, who had become a Jaina monk and attained nirvāṇ, and who has been assigned a place among the "Pravatta Chakra[52]" (Details about

(41) J. A. H. R. S. vol. II, part I, pp. 3. (It is stated therein, that Sinhpur was the capital of north Kaling and Kapilpur of south).

(42) J. A. H. R. S. vol. II, part I, pp. 22. Dantpur has been identified with Jagannāthpurī, where Buddha was worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is also stated that the name Sinhpur (the city of lion) was changed to Dantpur (the city of Tooth), probably because the teeth of Buddha are preserved there.

(43) Vide the volume referred to in f. n. no. 41.

(44) Cf. f. n. nos. 40, 41 and 42 above.

(45) R. W. W. Vol. II, pp. 107, f. n. no. 60.

(46) F. n. no. 45 above.

(47) F. n. no. 41 above.

(48) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 2.

(49) Ibid, pp. 7.

(50) J. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 6.

(51) Bha. Pra. Rājvaṃśa, Vol. II, pp. 99,

(52) Vol. I. pp. 167, f. n. no. 56.

this term will be given later on). More details will be given in the account of the Jaina idol of Kaling.

In ancient times, kings did not imprint[53] their names or portraits on their coins. They merely got their religious symbols imprinted on them[54]. In course of time, as Avasarpiṇi advanced, names and portrait-heads began to appear[55]. Foreign influence also contributed to this change[56].

The Hāthīgumfā inscription and the capital of Kalinga kingdom are closely associated with Jainism. The Jains consider those places holy where their Tīrthaṅkeras, the number of which is 24, attained nirvāṇ[57]. Twenty of these attained nirvāṇ on Sametśikhar and the remaining four at different places[58]. The last of twenty, who attained nirvāṇ on Sametśikhar was Pārśvanāth. That hill is called the Pārśvanāth hill, a very sacred place of the Jains. In Jainism, it is a custom for all the Jains to be called followers of the previous Tīrthaṅker as long as the next does not attain nirvāṇ. Thus, during B. C. 877[59], when Pārśvanāth attained nirvāṇ, to 556 B. C.[60], when Mahāvīr attained nirvāṇ, all Jains were called followers of Pārśvanāth. Thus, Karkaṇḍu, who ascended the throne in 558 B. C. called himself the follower of Pārśvanāth. We have seen that the foot of the Sametśikhar stretched upto Dhauli, where Priyadarśin got his famous edict erected[61]. During Karkaṇḍu's rule that region was under his power.

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(53) Priyadarśin adopted the same humble attitude in his numerous giant and small idols. That is the reason why they do not bear his name.

(54) Vol. I, chapter on coins.

(55) Vol. I, chap. II.

(56) Vide the account of Nahapāṇ in vol. III, and vide vol. II for his coins.

(57) For a detailed account of Jaina sacred places vide vol. II, pp. 371, f. n. no. 53.

(58) For a list of such places vide vol. II, pp. 324, f. n. no. 28 and vol. I, pp. 280, f. n. no. 17.

(59) A person becomes a Tīrthaṅker in Jainism, only after he has attained the Kaivalya stage, Pārśvanāth became Tīrthaṅker in B. C. 877.

(60) Mahāvīr became Tīrthaṅker in 556 B. C. He had become a Jaina monk in 568 B. C. Vide vol. II, pp. 4, f. n. no. 7.

(61) Vol. II, pp. 326 & ante, f. n. no. 30.

Udyāśva had installed a Jaina idol in Pāṭliputra[62]. Similarly Karkaṇḍu had installed an idol of Pārśvanāth[63] in his capital. In that temple he said his daily prayers. Kaling was under the power of Magadh after the death of Karkaṇḍu. Śobhanrāy and Chaṇḍrāy were under the vassalage of Magadh. The rulers of Magadh also were Jains[64]. Hence, when Kṣemrāj established his independent power over Kaling, Nandivardhan became anxious about the idol of Pārśvanāth. Hence, when he became himself the ruler of Magadh, after the weak rule of Mund, he invaded Kaling with a large army. A great battle was fought, but no decisive result came out. In the mean time, Nandivardhan received the news of excessive rainfall at Magadh, as a result of which Pāṭaliputra was in imminent danger of being flooded. Hence, he left the battlefield and hastened towards his capital. As a sign of his half-conquered battle, he took away with him the idol of Pārśvanāth. Thenceforth he had no time to invade Kaling (Vide his account in vol. I). Khārvel, the grandson of Kṣemrāj, took revenge of this insult by invading Magadh and by defeating Bṛhaspatimitra the 8th Nanda king, and by bringing idol back to his capital.

(2) VṚDHIRĀJ

Vṛddhirāj succeeded Kṣemrāj on the throne in B. C. 439. Kṣemrāj was 70 at the time of his death. So Vṛddhirāj must have been 40 to 45 at the time of his accession. His son was about fourteen at this time and his name was Bhikhkhurāj. When he ascended the throne he assumed the name Khārvel. Vṛddhirāj ruled for 10 years. So, Khārvel was about 24 when he ascended the throne.

Vṛddhirāj's reign was an uneventful one. He himself was advanced in age when he came to the throne, and his son was too young to lead expeditions. Again Nanda II was a powerful king, and his kingdom stretched upto the borders of Kaling on the west, and the north. On the east was the sea. On the south the Kaliṅga kingdom had stretched far enough upto the banks of the Godāvarī.

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(62) The older an idol, the greater its sacredness. For details about this idol read further.

(63) Vide ante.

When Bhikhkhurāj became older, he was sent with an army on that side; but while the fight was going on, Vṛddhirāj died in 429 B. C. and Bhikhkhurāj returned home from the field of battle. It seems that Vṛddhirāj died a sudden death[65].

Thus the Kalinga kingdom was somewhat extended in the south, due to the enterprise of Bhikhkhurāj. Details of this invasion will be given in the account of Khārvel.

Vṛddhirāj seems to have justified his name by making good additions to the kingdoms he inherited from his father. References to this have been made in the Hāthigumfa inscription.

Khārvel spent the first year of his reign in repairing his capital. Next year, he led his fourfold army against Śrīmukh[66] and drove him as far as Nāśik. This shows that Vṛddhirāj had a well-disciplined and strong army under him and that he had conquered the region where is situated at present the Hydrābād State. This shows that during the rule of Vṛddhirāj, Kalinga empire was much extended in the south. Khārvel thus inherited a large and consolidated kingdom which enabled him to defeat a powerful foe like Śrīmukh in the very beginning of his reign, and force the Āndhra kings to call themselves Āndhrabhṛtyas[67].

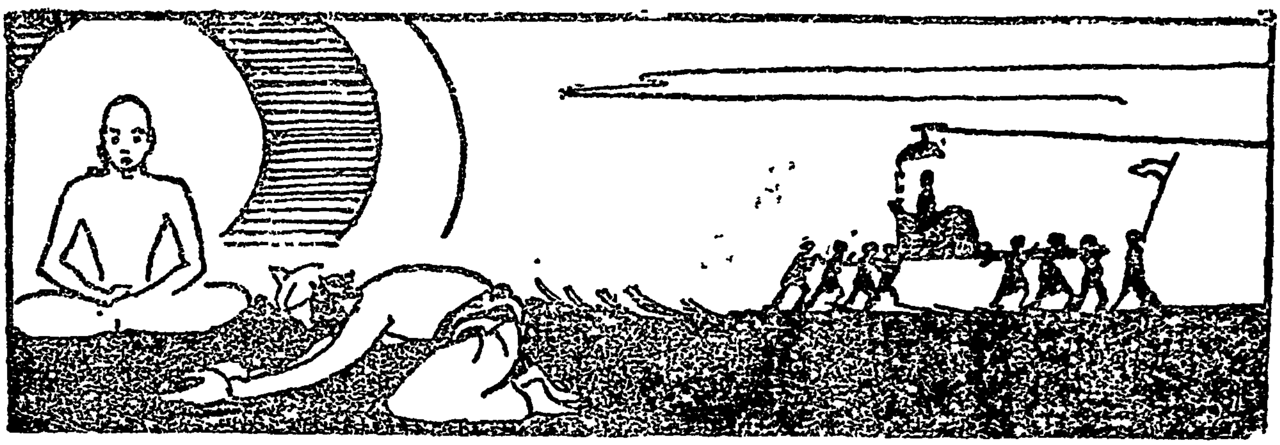
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(64) Vol. I, for dynastic lists of Śiśunāgas and Nandas.

(65) Line 2 of Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(66) In inscriptions he has been called "Śāṭakaraṇi". He has also been called "Śāta". Vide Buddhiprakāś, vol. 76, pp. 86 to 95; the quotation from Yugapurāṇ. Śaka king pursued Ariṣṭhakarṇa of the Śāta dynasty.

(67) Vol. III, pp. 29.



Chapter II

Chedi dynasty (contd.)

Synopsis:—*(3) Khārvel or Bhikhkhurāj or Dharmarāj—His time—Was Puṣyamitra the same as Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh? Pros and cons of the question—Arguments against the theory.*

No. 103 in the Hāthīgumfā inscription. Scholars believe that it belongs to the Nanda and Maurya eras—That is untrue—Reasons for this—The no. belongs either to the Chedi era or to the Mahāvīra era—Proofs in support of this.

(3) KHĀRVEL, BHIKHKHURĀJ, DHARMARĀJ

He came to throne in 429 B. C.=98 A. M.

Chedi dynasty as well as the Kalinga kingdom owe their fame in history to Hāthīgumfā inscription by Khārvel and to the rock-edicts of Priyadarśin[2]. The chronology of the kings of the Chedi dynasty has been based on the Hāthīgumfā inscription. Scholars have come to the conclusion that Khārvel was a contemporary of Pusyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty. As Pusyamitra's time has almost been fixed up, Khārvel's time must have been about the same. Then the scholars have fixed the time of the preceding kings of the dynasty on this basis.

The belief that Khārvel and Pusyamitra were contemporaries has been based on some details and the number given in the Hāthīgumfā inscription. My difference with the scholars is about this number. Hence, I have come to the conclusion that these two kings could not have been contemporaries. Below, I have given proofs. Some of them have already been given in vol. III. I repeat them here for the sake of perspective[3].

(1) It is believed that Śātakarṇi Śrīmukh was the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. On the basis of an inscription by his son's queen Nāganikā, he has circuitously been shown to have been a contemporary of Puṣyāmitra. Now it is stated in the Hāthīgumfā inscription that Khārvel inflicted a defeat on Śrīmukh. This means that Śrīmukh, Puṣyamitra and Khārvel were contemporaries.

Let us see whether this hypothesis is true. The fact that Śrīmukh and Khārvel were contemporaries is based on the irrefutable evidence of the Hāthīgumfā rock-edict. The theory of Śrīmukh and Puṣyamitra having been contemporaries is not based on any strong piece of evidence. It is an established fact that the Mauryan dynasty

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(1) The Hāthīgumfā inscription makes it clear that these names were assumed by himself.

(2) A comparative study of these kings has been given later on.

(3) Most of the arguments stated below have already been given in the preceding volumes at various places. Vol. I, pp. 151 to 153. Vol. I, pp. 328; Vol. I, pp. 355; Vol. III, pp. 21 to 26; Vol. III, pp. 110 (Menaṇḍer).

lasted long after the death of Aśok. This means that Aśok and Puṣyamitra were separated by a long interval, the latter having been the later to come in time. We know that Magesthenes was the Greek ambassador at the court of Aśok. In his memoirs, he has stated that from the military point of view, Magadha empire was the first, and Āndhra was the second. Now to have powerful army, second only to the vastest military organisation in India, the Āndhra kingdom must have been established long before the time of Aśok. We have shown above that a long interval separated Aśok from Puṣyamitra. Hence the founder of the Āndhra dynasty, Śrīmukh, must have flourished long long before Pusyamitra. They could not have been contemporaries.

(2) Dr. Rapson[4] in connection with the time of the inscription of queen Nāganikā says:—" It may be placed a little, but not much later than Ashok's and Dasarath's edict. But what in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras, is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nasik inscription (no. 1) of Kanha's or Krishna's reign". Thus Prof. Rapson inclines to the belief that the inscription belongs to one of the first Āndhra kings, one of whom was Kaṇha. In other words Kaṇha flourished a few years after Śrīmukh, the founder of the dynasty, and Nāganikā flourished a few years after Kaṇha. This clearly indicates that Nāganikā flourished long before Aśok and that Śrīmukh flourished much earlier. In no. I above, we have proved that Puṣyamitra flourished long after Aśok. Hence he flourished much longer after Śrīmukh.

(3) Dr. Rapson[5] states elsewhere:—"The coin legends of Andhras in every district and at all periods without exception are in the same Prakrit language". This means that Prākṛt was the language of the people during the rule of the Andhras. Now, we know that the spread of Saṁskṛt followed the decline of Prākṛt. Priyadarśin's inscriptions indicate that Prākṛt was current upto his time. Saṁskṛt began to gather influence during the rule of the

(4) C. A. R. pp. 19 to 21.

(5) C. A. R. para. 153.

Śungas under the impetus of Patañjali, the famous commentator. This proves that the Āndhra kings flourished long before the Śungas. So Śrīmukh, the founder of the Āndhra *dynasty flourished long* before Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty.

(4) The pictures on the walls of the Hāthīgumfā inscription are painted naked, thus showing that the sages and ascetics wore no clothes in those times. The rock-edicts of Priyadarśin, on the other hand, show that the custom of putting on white clothes by them had already begun. This shows that Khārvel was a predecessor of Priyadarśin, and consequently of Pusyamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty at the end of the Mauryan dynasty.

(5) A writer[6] has stated in connection with the Hāthīgumfā inscription:—"*Kharvela invaded Magadh and laid siege to Rajagrihi and that four years later, he captured the royal palace (at Pataliputra*[7] *) and made the Raja of Magadh fall at his feet*[8]". This means that he invaded Magadh twice. We know that he also defeated the second powerful king Śrīmukh of Āndhra. (Hāthīgumfā inscription line 4). Thus he was *the most powerful emperor in* India at that time. Evidently he could not have borne with patience the invasion and destruction of Pāṭaliputra by any other *king*. Historians, on the other hand, state that Puṣyamitra invaded Pāṭaliputra, defeated the *king*, and destroyed the whole city[9]. Naturally, had *this* taken place *during the time* of Khārvel, under whose vassalage the Magadha king was, he would never have allowed

(6) Ind. His. Qua. vol. V, pp. 587, 1929 A. D.

(7) The words in the bracket have been written by the author of the book. Why has he stated the names of both the capitals? The change from Rājgṛhī to Pāṭaliputra took place much later.

(8) This has been explicitly stated in the Hāthigumfā inscription.

(9) The impossibility of this has been proved in vol. III, pp. 22 to 25. We have also shown in the account of Puṣyamitra the contradiction of calling Puṣyamitra the king of Magadh on the one hand, and of describing him as invading Magadh on the other. Again, Puṣyamitra never ascended the throne. It was his son Agnimitra, who actually ascended the throne and established a large empire. He may have destroyed Pāṭaliputra.

such wholesale destruction. Hence, Puṣyamitra could not have been a contemporary of Khārvel.

(6) Khārvel has stated in line no 10 of the Hāthigumfā inscription that there are three divisions of politics, namely, war, peace and concililation; or punishment, peace and compromise. It should be noted that he has made no mention of "Dissensions", which proves that it must have been a later addition to the science of politics. Probably the addition was made by Chāṇakya, the prime-minister of Chandragupta. Evidently, Chāṇakya flourished later than Khārvel. So, Puṣyamitra must have flourished much later than Khārvel.

(7) The inscription of Khārvel tells us that he invaded Magadh twice[10]. On one of these occasions, he is stated to have invaded Rājgṛhī. This proves that Rājgṛhī was the capital of Magadh during the time of Khārvel. Now we know that Pāṭaliputra as a capital of Magadh was established during the time of Chandragupta Maurya, or even before him. This shows that Khārvel lived before Chandragupta.

(8) In line 12 of Hāthigumfā inscription Khārvel is stated to have defeated Bṛhaspatimitra, who is stated to have been succeeded by Agnimitra[11]. This indicated that Agnimitra was the son of Bṛhaspatimitra. The Purāṇas, on the other hand also declare that Puṣyamitra was the father of Agnimitra. Hence an attempt has been made to prove that Bṛhaspatimitra was the same as Puṣyamitra.[12]. Hence comes the theory that Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were contemporaries. Now, there can be no greater or more absurd self-contradiction than this; because these very scholars have stated that Puṣyamitra invaded Pāṭailputra and reduced it to ashes[13].

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(10) I differ slightly from this theory. For details read the next chapter.

(11) J. O. B. R. S. vol. XIII, pp. 242:—"On the evidence of coins". Then are given there the names of Śunga kings. The name of Bṛhaspatimitra is not at all mentioned in the list. On what grounds then, has he been called a Śunga? Again, the list does not state that Agnimitra succeeded Bṛhaspatimitra on the throne.

(12) In argument no. 9 discussed above, the reader will find that scholars have taken it for granted that Bṛhaspatimitra was the same as Puṣyamitra.

(13) The words "He invaded Magadh" indicate that he was not a ruler

Now to describe one and the same person[14] as a successful invader of Magadh and then to describe him to have suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Khārvel is not a very reasonable statement.

(9) In line 12 of the Hāthigumfā inscription, Khārvel has stated that he defeated Brhaspatimitra, the king of Anga–magadhā and brought much wealth with him from there. Scholars have identified Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra. The same scholars also state that he was succeeded by Agnimitra, who thus must have inherited the kingdom of Anga–Magadhā. Now, it is a historically established fact that Agnimitra conquered Anga and married the daughter of the king of that country. This is a contradiction. This makes it clear that Pusyamitra was not the same as Bṛhaspatimitra. (Read No. 10 below).

(10) Pandit Jayasvālji has stated[15] that Brhaspati is the lord of the constellation of Puṣya. Hence "Pusya" means "Brhaspati", thus proving that Puṣyamitra was but another name of Brhaspatimitra. We have shown in argument No. 8 above, that this is not true. A scholar says in this connection[16]:—" His identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Pusyamitra...even if we admit that Bṛhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindus with Pusya, that does not justify the identification of Brhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra, any more than the denotation of the same God by the terms of Skanda and Kumar, justifies the identification "Skandagupta with Kumargupta." In short, we cannot identify Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra simply because " Bṛhaspati " and " Puṣya " have the same meaning.

(11) Pandit Jayasvāl says that, it is stated in the Hāthigumfā

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of Magadh. (C. H. I. pp. 518). The fact is that seat of the capital was changed to Avantī by Priyadarśin (Vide his account). Hence Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra also settled in Avantī.

(14) F. n. no. 11 above. It shows that Puṣyamitra was not the ruler of Magadh, and had never invaded Pāṭaliputra. In fact, his son Agnimitra had invaded Pāṭaliputra many years after his death.

(15) J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII, pp. 240–250.

(16) Ind. His. Qu. 1929 A. D, vol. V, pp. 597.

inscription that when the Greek chief Demetrius[17], who had advanced as far as Mathurā,[18] heard of the invasion of Magadh by Khārvel, he retired from Mathurā to the Punjab. Now, Demetrius was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, hence, they argue, Puṣyamitra was a contemporary of Khārvel. In connection with this theory, a scholar says[19]:—" But even if we admit for argument's sake that Demiti or Demitrius was engraved here, what evidence is there to show, that this Demitrius can be no other than the son and successor of Euthydemos of Bactria ? The extract means that it is very doubtful whether word "Demite" or "Demitrius" is there in the inscription.[20], and also that if it is granted that the word is there, what proof is there[21] for the contention that he was the same as the son of Euthydemos[22], and not any other king of the same name.[23]

Even if we accept that "Demetrius" was none other but the

(17) The whole name is not clearly given in Hāthīgumfā. (Read the next chapter). Some letters of the word are there and some have disappeared. So, the whole word has been arranged by scholars according to their own lights. The writer is doubtful whether "Dimit" is the correct deciphering of the word. The article has been written in Ind. His. Qu. 1929, vol. V, pp. 594. There its writer says:—"Mr. Jayaswal has described his difficulties before he could make out Dimita or Dimiti". This means that the present interpretation of the word is very doubtful.

(18) There are two cities bearing the name Mathurā:—(1) Mathurā in N. India, the capital of Sūrsen. (2) Māthurā or Madurā in S. India, which is situated near Trichinopoly. It should be ascertained which of the two cities is meant in the inscription.

(19) Ind. His. Qu. 1929 A. D., vol. V, pp. 594.

(20) F. n. no. 17 above. For the correct deciphering of the supposed word "Dimit" read the next chapter.

(21) F. n. no. 23 below.

(22) Vol. III, pp. 89. See the list of Bactrian chiefs.

(23) We have seen the list of Persian, Greek and Bactrian rulers. It becomes clear from this, that there was only one ruler bearing the name Demetrius. There was no other ruler, whose name came anywhere near "Dimiti" or "Dimit".

son of Euthydemos, the theory falls to ground, because Demetrius never crossed the Sutlej and hence never came to Mathurā. During the time in which Khārvel lived, no foreigner ever invaded any part of India, not to talk of a *Greek chief*[24] *having encamped* himself in India.

(12) In the account of Pusyamitra (Vol. III pp. 20 to 26) we have proved on the support of strong evidence, that Puṣyamitra and Śrimukh were not contemporaries. There does not arise, therefore, the question of Pusyamitra and Khārvel having been contemporaries.

(13) According to scholars Pusyamitra came on the throne in B. C. 188[25], and Khārvel in B. C. 183. Both, they say, ruled for 36 years. This means that Khārvel survived Puṣyamitra by five years. Now, it has also been stated that in the later part of his life, Puṣyamitra performed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice and let the sacrificial horse loose to roam about the world. Now, if Khārvel had been a contemporary of Pusyamitra, he would never have allowed the horse to stalk about his kingdom unchallenged and thus meekly submit to the overlordship of a king, whom he had defeated and forced to fall at his feet. Now, it cannot be argued that Puṣyamitra began the sacrifice after the death of Khārvel, because by their own theory, Khārvel lived longer of the two. In short, they were not contemporaries at all, but were separated from one another by an interval of nearly 250 years.[26]

We have given above negative proofs to the effect that Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were not contemporaries. Below we give some positive proofs:—

(14) It is stated in line 3 of the Hāthigumfā inscription that he came to the throne at the age of 24. In the following lines are narrated events which took place in his reign after his coronation. This means the first two lines describe events which took place

(24) No Greek, Persian or Bactrian ruler bore the name "Dimit" or anything near it during Khārvel's time.

(25) J. O. B. R. S. vol. XIII, pp. 244.

(26) See the next page.

before his accession to the throne. He has been described as "Heir-apparent" in these two lines.

In line no. 2, it is stated that while he was heir-apparent he invaded Ceylon, over which ruled a king named Abhivijay[27] at that time. It was the third year of Abhivijay's reign. A glance at the chronological list of the Ceylonese kings (Vol. II, pp. 238 f. n. 71), will tell us that the rule of this king[28] began in B. C. 432=95 A. M. The third of his reign would be 429 B. C.[29] We know that he had to leave the battle half-finished and hasten back on account of the death of his father. This means that Khārvel came to the throne in 429 B. C. Now, the scholars tell us that Puṣyamitra came to the throne in B. C. 188[30] (Vol. III, pp. 8, 15 and 463). This shows that there was an interval of 250 years between them.

(15) In line 12 of the inscription it is stated that Khārvel invaded Rājgṛhī and got possession of the Sugāṅgeya or Śaśānka palace. This means that at the time of the invasion of Khārvel Rājgṛhī was still the capital of Magadh. In fact in the inscription itself, there is no mention of Pāṭaliputra, which was made the seat of the capital during the time of Mauryan emperors. Hence, Khārvel must have flourished before 372 B. C.

(16) The famous Chinese traveller Hieuen-Tsang has written[31]:- "Hieuen Tsang tells us that, shortly before his arrival, Purnavarman, Raja of Magadh and the last descendant of Ashok, had piously restored the sacred Bodhi tree at Gaya, which Sasanaka, king of Bengal had destroyed. These events happened soon after 600 A. D." Thus according to Mr. Vincent Smith, the descendants of Aśok ruled Magadh upto 600 A. D. Now, it has been proved

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(27) A detailed discussion of the various misinterpretations of the inscription has been given in the next chapter.

(28) Read the account of the Hāthīgumfâ inscription for details.

(29) The account of Śrimukh of the Sātvahan dynasty, given later on, will show the truth of this date.

(30) He died in this year. He enjoyed powers for 38 years.

(31) Vide pp. 71 of "Aśok" by V. Smith in the Rulers of India Series.

that Puṣyamitra belonged to the Śunga dynasty, while Aśok was a Maurya. If we identify Puṣyamitra with Bṛhaspatimitra, we shall have to accept that he was a Maurya and not a Śunga. This means that the Chinese traveller was wrong. All these conditions and confusions have arisen from the blunder of identifying Puṣyamitra with Bṛhaspatimitra for the sake of calling him a contemporary of Khārvel.[32]

Again it is an accepted fact that Bṛhaspatimitra was a ruler of Magadh. We must place him either after Puṣyamitra or before Aśok. Now he could not have flourished after Pusyamitra. Hence he must have flourished before Aśok, who himself flourished before Puṣyamitra.

(17) Religious evidence also points to the fact that Pusyamitra was not a contemporary of Khārvel. Mr. Smith[33] says:—"The Creeds of Jesus, Zoroaster and Mahomad were unknown; he (Ashoka) is not thinking of exclusive militant religions like Christianity and Islam—the essence of the matter—all Indian denominations are aimed at self-control and purity of life. Similar toleration[34] of various creeds was practised by various princes, Kharvel of Orissa for instance used language almost identical with that of Ashoka." We gather from this that the policy of religious tolerance, introduced by Aśok[35] was adopted by many subsequent kings in different parts of India. Khārvel for instance followed it as it becomes clear from the Hāthigumfā inscription[36]. We have already proved that the inscriptions which have been attributed

(32) If we accept that he was the ruler of Magadh, we shall also have to accept that his son Agnimitra inherited Magadh by right of succession. It has been stated, on the other hand, that Agnimitra invaded Pāṭaliputra. What, then, is the truth?

(33) Pp. 60 of "Aśok" in the Rulers of India Series.

(34) Ibid, pp. 62.

(35) It is a common belief of scholars that Priyadarśin and Aśok were names of the same individual and that Khārvel flourished after Aśok. We have already proved that Priyadarśin was different from Aśok and that Khārvel flourished before Aśok.

(36) The Hāthīgumfā inscription of Khārvel and the inscriptions of Aśok preach and exalt the same religion.

to Aśok, really belong to Priyadarśin, his grandson. Khãrvel was a follower of Jainism[37] and so was Priyadarśin[38]. The second thing to be borne in mind is, that Khãrvel and Bṛhaspatimitra waged wars for the same Jaina idol. The third thing to be remembered is that Puṣyamitra was a follower of the Vedic religion and performed Aśvamedha sacrifices at the instance of Patañjali. Khãrvel on the other hand has stated that Aśvamedha sacrifices should not be performed by kings. Again Puṣyamitra or his successor Agnimitra, according to the belief of the scholars, cut off the heads of Buddhist monks in large numbers. (We believe that the victims were Jaina monks Vol. III). In short Khãrvel and Puṣyamitra were followers of different religions. If we identify Puṣyamitra with Bṛhaspatimitra, we give rise to a contradiction, because Bṛhaspatimitra was a Jain, while Pusyamitra was a follower of the Vedic religion. Hence, we cannot identify Puṣyamitra with Bṛhaspatimitra, and consequently, with Khãrvel.

(18) It is stated in C. H. I.[39]:—" With regard to the Āndhras, more certain evidence of inscription, assigns them to a period, which is in flagrant contradiction to the position they occupy in the Puranas." The Purāṇas state that the Āndhra rule began in the 1st or 2nd century B. C., but according to the evidence deduced from inscriptions, the rule of the dynasty began in 3rd or 4th century B. C. We know that the evidence of the inscriptions is always the most reliable of all. This means that Śrimukh, the founder of the dynasty, must have flourished in the 3rd or 4th century B. C. Now Śrimukh has been stated to have been defeated by Khãrvel, in the Hãthigumfã inscription. This means that Khãrvel also flourished in the 4th century B. C., i. e. two centuries before Puṣyamitra.

(19) Another writer[40] says:—" It must be observed that the Chetiya Kula mentioned in Khãrvel grants, the earliest perhaps

(37) Details are given in the next chapter.

(38) We have proved this, time and again, in vol. II.

(39) Vide pp. 522, of that book.

(40) J. S. I. part II, pp. 88–89.

of south Indian Jains, is a branch of the Jains, which has not spread itself in S. India. It perhaps represents one of the Jaina Shakhas of N. Indian origin, which flourished before the great schism in the time of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta. Possibly this branch belonged to the Chedi kingdom." The extract means that the Chedi dynasty began before the Maurya dynasty, i. e. Khārvel flourished before Aśok, who flourished before Pusyamitra.

(20) A comparative study of the scripts used by Khārvel in his Hāthīgumfā inscription and by Priyadarśin in his inscriptions, will prove that Khārvel flourished before Priyadarśin.

On the support of the evidence supplied in the 20 points stated above, we come to the conclusion that Khārvel was not a contemporary of Pusyamitra, but flourished long before him, and that Bṛhaspatimitra, whom Khārvel defeated, cannot be identified with Pusyamitra. Brhaspatimitra was in fact a separate individual[41] (vide the account of the Nanda dynasty.)

The time of Khārvel

A number has been given in the Hāthīgumfā inscription. It has been variously interpreted as 169[42], 165[43], and 103, of which the last interpretation has been unanimously accepted. This inscription and this number are very important from the view-point of history. Hence, we shall discuss below the possibility of all the three interpretations. As Khārvel himself got this inscription erected, it is clear that he was alive in that year. The thing we have to decide is to which era does this number belong.

Various writers incline to the opinion that the number belongs either to the Nanda era or to the Mauryan era. In the chapter

(41) A proof or two can still be given. But as they are based on Hāthīgumfā inscription, an account of which is given in the next chapter, they are not given here. They will be given in the next chapter.

(42) C. H. I. vol. I, pp. 608—"Shatkarni of Andhra dynasty (Shalivahan Satkarni) being contemporary with Kharvel (whose accession cir. 169 B. C. if Hathigumfa inscription is dated in Maurya era. pp. 314-15; 534 and 602)".

(43) J. B. O. R. S. vols. III & IV, C. I. pp. 16; Ind. His. Qua. vol. V, A. D. 1929, pp. 587 and sequel. Hāthīgumfā inscription, line 16—"In the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of the Mauryan kings".

on eras in the previous volumes, we have not included any such eras in the list given there. We have also stated that an era was begun to commemorate an important event.

Let us discuss the possible dates of the beginning of the Nanda era. It may have been begun in B. C. 472=55 A. M. when the first Nanda king came to the throne. Or it may have been begun in 415 B. C. or 112 A. M., when the ninth Nanda king established peace and order in the kingdom, after many years of misrule during the reigns of previous Nandas. The Nanda dynasty ended in 372 B. C. = 155 A. D. Hence there are only two possible dates when the Nanda era must have been begun. (1) B. C. 472; (2) B. C. 415.

We now turn to the Mauryan era. It may have been begun in, (1) 381-82 B. C. = 146 A. M. when Chandragupta established his power over a small territory; (2) 372 B. C. = 155 A. M. when Chandragupta came to the throne of Magadh; (3) 326 B. C. = 200 A. M. when Aśok ascended the throne after suppressing rebellions in the Punjab; (4) B. C. 289 = A. M. 237, when the greatest Mauryan emperor, Priyadarśin ascended the throne.

We have given below a table of these dates in connection with the number in the Hāthigumfā inscription:—

Date	In terms of 103	In terms of 165	In terms of 169
(1) B. C. 472	B. C. 369	B. C. 307	B. C. 303
(2) „ 415	„ 312	„ 250	„ 246
(3) „ 372	„ 269	„ 207	„ 203
(4) „ 381	„ 278	„ 216	„ 212
(5) „ 326	„ 223	„ **161**	„ **157**
(6) „ 289	„ **186**	„ **124**	„ **120**

Scholars believe that Puṣyamitra ascended the throne in about 188 B. C. and Khārvel in about 183 B. C.[44]. Hence of all the dates stated above, only five, which have been heavily printed, come anywhere near them. Of these five also, only one-186-fits in with the dates given by them. Hence all others have to be ruled out. Let us now see whether this interpretation is correct or not.

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(44) Arguments nos. 12 and 13 in the preceding pages.

In order to accept that interpretation, we shall have to agree that the Mauryan era was begun in 289 B. C. with accession of Priyadarśin to the throne. This means that the Hāthigumfā inscription was erected by Khārvel 103 years after the accession of Priyadarśin to the throne of Magadh. The script experts, however, unanimously declare that the Hāthigumfā inscription must have been erected before the rock-edicts of Priyadarśin (arguments nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. on pp. 111 & seq.). Therefore this theory also is untenable. In short, No. 103 belongs neither to the Nanda era or to the Mauryan era, and B. C. 186 is not the date of Khārvel.

We shall examine the theory from another stand-point. Khārvel defeated Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh. This Bṛhaspatimitra must have ruled any time from 5th to 6th century B. C. to 188 B. C. During this period, three dynasties ruled Magadh. (See the dynastic lists given at the end of Vols. I, II, & III). These three dynasties were (1) Śiśunāg; (2) Nanda; (3) Maurya. The first dynasty flourished in very old times and hence is to be left out of account. Hence Bṛhaspatimitra must have belonged to one of the two remaining dynasties. Khārvel himself has stated in the inscription, that he had enmity with the Nanda kings, because a certain Nanda king had taken away a Jaina idol from the kingdom of one of his ancestors. It would be absurd to accept therefore that Khārvel adopted the Nanda era[45] in his inscription. The Nandas were his deadly enemies. If we say that Bṛhaspatimitra belonged to the Mauryan dynasty, the possibility of Khārvel having adopted the Mauryan era, is ruled out on the same grounds. Hence neither the Nanda nor the Mauryan era was adopted by Khārvel in his inscription.

To which era, then, does No. 103 belong ? In this connection we ought to remember certain characteristics of the kings of those times. In the chapters on coins in Vol. II, we have noted that ancient kings were not very anxious to commemorate their own names[46] and that they were very devoted to their religion. In coins

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(45) Whether this number belongs to the Nanda era ? Details are given in vol. I, pp. 311-12.

(46) Vide the account of Priyadarśin. This is the reason why we do not

as well as in inscriptions they got inscribed religious symbols and religious eras. It has been already proved that Khārvel was a follower of Jainism. Hence the era adopted by him must have been the Mahāvīra era which was begun in 527 B. C. when Mahāvīra attained absolution (Vol. II, pp. 8). Calculating that way 103 means 527–103=424 B. C. It has been stated in the Hāthigumfā inscription that 103 denoted the fifth year of his reign. This means that he ascended the throne in 429 B. C. = 98 A. M.[47]. He ruled for 36 years, and he came to the throne at the age of 25. So he died at the age of 61.

Other theories for no. 103

Before I came to the conclusion that 103 belonged to the Mahāvīr, I inclined to two other views, which I subsequently gave up as untenable. We shall take brief notices of them below.

(1) No. 103 may have belonged to the Chedi era[48] because Khārvel belonged to that dynasty.

(2) The Mahāvīra era may have been begun in 556 B. C.[49] when Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage (Vol. I, pp. 366) and not in 527 B. C. when he died, because the first occasion is decidedly auspicious[50], while the second is a sad one[51]. Generally an era was begun when a king came to the throne or when the most important[52] event occurred in the life of a prophet[53].

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find his name on any of the idols erected by him. Even in edicts his name appears as an indication of his religious zeal. He was so modest.

(47) The matter stated in vol. I, pp. 325–26, is now proved. Śatvahan dynasty did begin in 100 A. M. because Śrīmukh, the founder of that dynasty, has been stated to have been defeated by Khārvel in the second year of his reign, i. e. 98+2=100. So, he retreated and established his kingdom near Nāsik.

(48) Pp. 405 in vol. III, f. n. no. 17.

(49) Pp. 401, f. n. nos. 5 and 6 in vol. III; f. n. no. 52 below.

(50) For instances vide pp. 452 of vol. III.

(51) It is said that eras could be begun in commemoration of the death of a person (pp. 407, f. n. no. 18, vol. III. Read the extract there from Prof. Rapson's C. A. R. pp. 162, para 135). No such instance, however, is found in history. Cf. f. n. nos. 52 and 53 below.

(52) The Christian era was begun in the year in which Jesus Christ

Let us examine these theories. (1) The Chedi era must have been begun in commemoration of any of the four following occasions; (a) B. C. 558 or 563, the possible dates when Karkaṇḍu ascended the throne of Kaling (Vol. I, pp. 152-56); (b) B. C. 537 when Surath ascended the throne; (c) B. C. 475, when Ksemrāj became the king of Kaling; (d) B. C. 429 when Khārvel ascended the throne. Khārvel has made a clear mention of No. 103 and of his enmity with a Nanda king. Hence, Khārvel must have been the contemporary of a Nanda king. Let us find out who this Nanda king must have been, and everything will be clear. Now, if we deduct 103 from the four possible dates given above, we will get B. C. 455 (460), 434, 372 and 326. A glance at the chronological list of the Nanda kings (Vol. I, pp. 360) will make it clear, that during 455 (460) B. C. Nand I ruled over Magadh, and during 434 B. C. Nand II ruled over Magadh. It has been proved that Nand II had no clash with the Kalinga kings We have already shown that it was Nand I who had clashes with an ancestor of Khārvel. So the Nanda king mentioned in the inscription was none else but Nanda I. Let us now find out whether Chedi dynasty was founded in 558 B. C. or 563 B. C. We have stated in vol. I, pp. 162, f. n. no. 44 that when Mahāvīr was travelling through Kaling, nine years after his becoming a Jaina monk, i. e. in B. C. 559, his father's friend was ruling over it[54]. When he died without leaving a son behind him, Karkaṇḍu was installed on the throne. This means that Karkaṇḍu ascended the throne after 559 B. C. So 563 B. C. as the date of his accession has to be ruled out. This means that he must have ascended the throne in 558 B. C. and the Chedi era must have been begun in that year. In vol. I, pp. 165, we stated three possible dates of the beginning of the Chedi era (558, 556 and 475 B. C.).

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entered into his fourth year (pp. 452, vol. III). The Muslim era was also begun in commemoration of a celebrated event in the life of Mohamed (Cf. f. n. no. 51 above).

(53) The Buddhist era is said to have been begun by some in the year in which Buddha died. Others believe that it was begun in the year in which he attained the nirvāṇ stage. (Vol. II, pp. 8 and f. nos. there).

(54) J. S. S. part III, pp. 372, line 13-14.

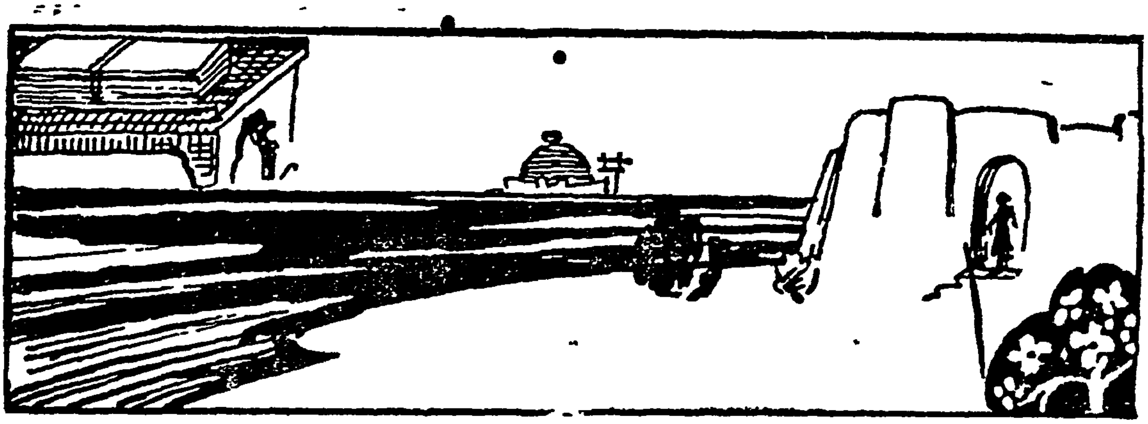
Let us now, therefore, try to find out whether the era was begun in 558 or 556 B. C. This is proved in the next paragraph.

(2) We know that Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage in 556 B. C. (vol. I, pp. 366). Now, if we accept that the Mahāvīra era was begun in 556 B. C., then 103 would come to 453 B. C. Now, Nandivardhan died three years before that. Hence the mention of the word "Nanda" by Khārvel in his inscription would have no meaning. Hence, the Mahāvīra era was not begun in 556 B. C. but in 527 B. C. Equally groundless is the theory that no. 103 had any connection with the beginning of the Chedi era or with the accession of Karkaṇḍu on the throne.

If we accept the Chedi era was begun in 558 B. C. then 103 would come to 455 B. C. Now, Nandivardhan died in 456 B. C. But if we accept that Karkaṇḍu ascended the throne a year earlier in 559 B. C., then 103 comes to 456 B. C. exactly the year in which Nandivardhan died. But these are all useless speculations. The fact is that 103 has no connection with the Chedi era[55].

The conclusion is that 103 is connected with the Mahāvīra era which was begun in 527 B. C.

(55) Still I have a slight inclination to believe that no. 103 is connected with the Chedi era. Read the next chapter.



Chapter III

Khārvel (contd.)

HĀTHĪGUMFĀ INSCRIPTION

Synopsis:—*Historical importance of the Hāthīgumfā inscription—Theories about it—Different interpretations—The true importance—Points in it.*

Of the 17 lines, only two are immune from differences of opinion—In the remaining 15, there are 36 points which have given rise to a number of difficulties—A detailed discussion of these points and of the sub-points arising from them—Khārvel was a follower of Jainism—Scholars have not studied Jaina literature at all—Hence a large number of difficulties have arisen about the interpretation of the inscription—The light it throws on the manner in which a Jaina king led his life—Laws of nature and their effect on those times.

KHĀRVEL (continued)

This inscription has effected tremendous changes in history. A thorough study[1] of the inscription is out of the scope of this book. Hence only a synopsis[2] has been given here. First we shall state the interpretations put upon it by various scholars. Then, we shall state the points, where we have reason to differ from the scholars. Some points of difference are based on the condition in which the inscription has been found out[3]. Some are based on the comparative lack of knowledge about the religion of Khārvel[4]. The inscription consists of 17 lines. The following interpretation is based on the common consensus of scholars:—

The Hāthīgumfā inscription

(1) Line 1:—Air[5] (Ail[6]) Emperor Mahāmeghavāhan[7], Chedirāj Vanśavardhan[8] Kalingādhipati Khārvel.

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(1) Readers desirous of details should look into those books.

(2) The synopsis given here is based on "Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak" a quarterly published from Poona, part 3, pp. 380. (The journal has been discontinued).

(3) The extract given below from Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, part 3, pp. 369, will give the reader an idea of this condition. "At several places the letters have disappeared; the first twelve letters have disappeared together with the chips of stone; some letters have disappeared through the effect of water; at some places, deep letter-like excavations have been made making the illusion of real letters and symbols. It is difficult to distinguish between the effects of the chisel and those of nature". This means there are many difficulties which one has to bear in mind before arriving at a correct interpretation.

(4) Khārvel was a Jain. To understand his life thoroughly, a good study of Jaina literature is indispensable. Jaina literature has not received much attention from scholars, because most of the Jaina manuscripts have as yet not been edited and printed. Lack of the knowledge is a great handicap in the proper interpretation of this inscription.

(5) Vide the next chapter for the meaning of this word.

(6) Words, which are not in the inscription itself, but which have been inserted by the interpreter, in order to draw out a connect sense, have been put into brackets.

(7) Vide pp. 93–5 for the meaning.

(8) Vide the account of Karkaṇḍu in vol. I, to understand his pride in calling himself a descendant of the Chedi king.

(2) After a period of boyhood or minorship for the first fifteen years of his life, he enjoyed the position of the heir-apparent for nine years. He has been steadily growing from childhood and....... Abhivijay (Ven Rājā)......

(3) In the third generation of......he ascended the throne. During the first year of his rule, he got the fort repaired......got dams and walls built......and got the gardens in a proper order

(4) and thus[9] pleased his three and half-million people[10]. During the second year, not caring at all for Sātkarṇi, he sent a large army westwards; the army which reached the Kaṇha-vennā (Kṛṣṇā-veṇā) and ravaged the city of Musik (Musik). In the third year,

(5) Pastimes were established and thus pleased his people[11]. In the fourth year,

(6) He forced all the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas to fall at his feet. In the 5th year, he got the canal dug upto his capital through Tansūliyā—the canal that was originally dug in the one hundred and third year of Nandarājā. In the 6th year, in the celebration of the Rājsūya sacrifice, he absolved the people

(7) from all the taxes. In the 7th year, his queen belonging to the family of Vajradhar, gave birth to a child. In the eighth year, he traversed through the Gorathgiri[12]

(8) and laid a siege to Rājgṛhī. Hearing of his exploits, the Yavana king Demetrius left Mathurā and receded. During the 9th year......and......Pallava......

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(9) Kings in those times considered it to be their duty to perform such deeds for the good of the people. The inscriptions of Priyadarśin also are an eloquent testimony to his zeal for such deeds.

(10) We cannot say whether this number represents the population of one town, or of the whole kingdom.

(11) Priyadarśin performed many such deeds. See rock-edict no. 3. This shows that Priyadarśin and Khārvel belonged to the same religion. Cf. f. n. nos. 9 and 20.

Jaina literature contains numerous examples of such deeds. Cf. f. n. no 61.

(12) This mountain was situated near Gayā in Behār. (Vide the account of Priyadarśin, vol. II, pp. 357, appendix C). It is also called Gorathgiri (J. S. S. part III, pp. 381, f. n. no. 8).

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(9) he gave large sums in charity[13], and of Arhat......

(10) got a palace named Mahāvijay built, at the cost of 38 lacs of Puns. During the 10th year, he started on a conquest-expedition towards Bharatvarsha—he, who believed in the policy of punishment—compromise and persuation.

(11) During the 11th year, he got a market place raized to the dust, which was built by a wicked king. The ground was tilled with ploughs drawn by donkeys. He broke to pieces the body of Tamar, the cheater of the people, and of age 113 years. He also defeated the kings of Uttarāpath.

(12) Creating great alarm in the minds of the people of Magadh, he led his army of elephants to the Sugāngeya palace[14] and forced king Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh to fall at his feet. He also took back the Kalinga-Jaina idol, which was taken away there by a Nanda king. He also took away with him a large number of jewels through gatekeepers from Anga-Magadh.

(13) He also brought with him, in boats of elephant-shape, from the Pāṇḍyā king, numerous horses, elephants, jewels, pearls, and rubies which astonished the people.

(14) He subdued the......In the 13th year, on Mt. Kumārī[15] on which is the Wheel[16] of Jainism......on Kāyaniṣidi stūpa[17]......

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(13) Details have not been given here.

(14) In Mudrārākṣasa we get a mention of "Sugānga" as the palace of Chandragupta in Pāṭaliputra. (J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 382, f. n. no. 11).

(15) Another name of Khaṇḍagiri or Udayagiri. On a hill near Bhuvaneśvar is the Dhauli rock-edict of Priyadarśin. Very near it is the Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(16) Vol. I, pp. 167, f. n. no. 56; vol. II, pp. 49, f. n. no. 44-45. Details about Pratihāryas are given there. A wheel was constantly kept revolving in front of a Chakravarti king (emperor); a similar wheel was also kept revolving in front of a Tīrthanker. It was called the religious wheel. A Tīrthanker or an Emperor was called a "Pravṛttachakra".

J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 372. It is stated there, that the religious wheel was on the Mt. Kumārī, near this inscription, i. e. Mahāvīr preached the gospel from this mount. This mount is at the foot of Sametśikhar (pp. 107 above). Twenty of the twenty-four Tīrthankeras of Jains attained salvation here. Hence, the wheel was almost always here. Cf. f. n. nos. 27 and 28 below.

he fixed annuities to the worshippers[18]. He, who was devoted to worshipping[19] and who was a Upāsak[20], learnt the distinction between body and soul[21].

(15) For Arihanta's Nisidi[22]......he got for his queen Sindhulā of Sinhaprastha......happiness......

(16) erected four pillars of Vaidūryas; he got repaired again at the expense of 75 lacs, the fourth part of Angasaptikā (the Chosaṭhī which was destroyed during the rule of the Mauryas). These Kṣemrāj, Vṛddhirāj, Bhikṣurāj[23], Dharmarāj seeing, hearing and experiencing......

(17) were tolerant of other religions[24], got all temples repaired[25]. Lord of an endless army of chariots and soldiers, holder

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(17) Nisidi=grave; tomb. Kāyanisidi=the place where a dead body is burnt. At places, where great Jaina monks died in those times, stūpas were erected, as is proved by this inscription. (Vol. II, account of Priyadarśin. See the accounts of Bhilsā and Bhārhūta topes).

(18) Worshippers in temples are always given fixed annuities in order to ensure the permanence of religious ceremonies in temples. Khārvel adopted that custom. (Chandragupta gave a large sum of money for the rows of lamps on the Sānchī stūpa).

(19) According to Jaina scriptures, every Jain has to say his prayers thrice a day. (Vol. I, accounts of Śreṇik and Udayāśva. Khārvel was a devoted Jain).

(20) Priyadarśin also had adopted the vow of an Upāsak, as his rock-edicts tell us. This proves that Khārvel and Priyadarsin were followers of the same religion. (Cf. f. n. no. 11 above).

(21) One who has realised the difference between body and soul.

(22) F. n. no. 17 above.

(23) His real name was Khār-vel (Lord of the seas). He had, however, adopted the name Bhikhkhurāj in continuation of names like Vṛddhirāj and Kṣemrāj. Being much devoted to religion, he was also called Dharmarāj.

(24) Khārvel was not a narrow-minded king. Priyadarśin adopted the same tolerant attitude.

(25) This proves that there were Chaityas and temples in those times.

(26) This means that he ruled an empire as large as that of a Chakravarti. Cf. f. n. no. 16 above.

of the wheel[26] of the empire, king Khārvel, the direct descendant of the Wheel-possessing[27], sage-like[28] (emperor)......

The interpretation given above has been taken as true by most scholars. A study of those times, however, and of the events that took place in those times, has convinced me that the interpretation given above is not altogether correct. Hence, I have stated below the points, where I have reason to differ from scholars and I have also stated my reasons for doing so. A study of these reasons, I hope, will convince the sckolars that the inscription ought to be studied again by linguists and script-experts[29].

Before beginning a detailed scrutiny of the inscription, it is necessary to state that Khārvel had nothing to do with northern India, except his single invasion on Magadh, when he forced the king of Magadh to fall at his feet and to bring back the idol[30]. As heir-apparent and as king, he led expeditions in south India only. Hence, all geographical allusions in the inscription refer to south India[31] only. One reason for this was, that there was a powerful empire in north India,[32] and the second was that he, being deeply

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(27) Cf. f. n. no. 16 above. In "Gangā", 1933, Jan. pp. 167, it is stated that the term "Pravṛttachakra" in the inscription refers to the Dharmachakra of the Buddhists. For the Jaina point of view, read f. n. no. 16 above and vol. III, pp. 223 where are given details about the Dharmachakra at Takṣillā.

(28) I. e. a descendant of a king, who had become a sage or a monk in the latter part of his life.

(Udayan of Sindhu-Sauvir was the last of those kings, who became Jaina monks at the hands of Mahāvīr himself. Chandragupta Maurya also attained to that high stage, but he came later). (Vol. I, pp. 216, f. n. no. 105).

(29) Cf. f. n. nos. 3 and 4 above, for the condition in which the inscription has been found out.

(30) This re-bringing of the idol had a great significance behind it. Details are given later on. (Vide also, Vol. I, pp. 171).

(31) Read below f. n no. 40 and compare the proper interpretation of line 8.

(32) Khārvel lived from B. C. 429 to 393 B. C. During that time Magadh was ruled by Nanda kings from the second to the ninth. The years, intervening the reigns of the 2nd and 9th kings, were those of misrule and anarchy, and Khārvel could have grabbed as much land as he would have liked. But he had no such desire (Vol. I, chap. I).

attached to the ideal of an Ārhat[33], wanted to lead a religious life[34] and to perform acts for the good of his own subjects[35]. The re-taking of the idol was a question of family prestige, otherwise he would not have undertaken that expedition also.

Now we turn to the detailed study:—

(Line 1) No question arises about the first line.

(Line 2) (A) The fact that he came to the throne at the age of 24, has led the scholars to believe that, that was generally the proper age[36] for coronation in those times. This is not true. In those times 13 to 14 was the age of attaining majority. Princes of that age married and ascended the throne in those times. His father must have died a sudden death; else, he would not have gone on a conquest-expedition so far as Ceylon[37]. He had to return from there, leaving the task of conquest half-finished[38].

(B) The original words in this line are:—"Vadhamāna Sesayo Veṅābhivijayo tatiye." which rewritten in Sanskrit would be:—"Vardhamāna Śaiśavo Venābhivijaya stṛtaye." The line has been translated thus:—" One, who grew up from childhood and who was

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(33) Line no. 9 of the inscription. No specific mention is made of the word Arhat. "Ārhan" means "pertaining to Arhan" and Arhan means one who became free from the eternal cycle of birth and rebirth.

(34) Khārvel's devotedness to Jainism is apparent in every line of the inscription. Cf. f. n. nos. 21 and 30 above.

(35) Cf. f. n. nos. 9 and 11 above and lines nos. 4, 6, 7, 9 etc. of the inscription. Read further for details about "Mahāvijaya Prāsād" and "Pustakoddhār". The inscription tells us that a year of political activity was always succeeded by one of religious and public activities.

(36) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 375. It is stated there:—"It is stated in Bṛhaspatisūtra that the coronation ceremony should be performed after 24. The same is proved by this inscription".

(37) The third line will make it clear, whether he had invaded this region or not. We should note that the first two lines refer to events that took place before his accession to the throne, i. e. when he was the heir-apparent.

(38) It is almost certain that Khārvel had no desire to grab-land belonging to others. He must have undertaken these battles in a defensive spirit or to respect the wishes of his father.

as great a ruler as a certain king named Ven!" The objections to this interpretation are as follows:—In the first place, the second line refers to the period when he was not yet a king[39]; hence, he could not reasonably compare himself to any mighty emperor. It may be argued that as the inscription itself was erected 15 years after his coming to the throne, and as he had achieved numerous conquests by this time, there would be to objection to his comparing himself to a mighty emperor in this line. Then, the question is "Who was Ven? and at what other place do we ever find his mention?" The real state of affairs was as follows. As heir-apparent he had led an expedition to Ceylon[40], where at that time the third king named Abhaya[41] of the Vijaya dynasty had recently ascended the throne. He seems to have therefore been named Abhivijay. He was a mighty ruler. His power was steadily increasing. Hence, Khārvel must have compared himself to him in the point, that his kingdom also was steadily gathering strength. Hence, the line may have been:-"Vardhamān Śaiśaven[42] Abhivijaya vistṛtiye."

(C) The word "Tṛtiye" can be interpreted in four ways:—

(1) It meant the third king of Ceylon. Abhivijay was the third king in his dynasty. (2) In the third year of his (Abhaya's) reign, i. e. in A. M. 98 or in 429 B. C. (He came to the throne in 95 A. M. or in 432 B. C.) (3) The word "Tṛtiye" may be connected with the word Puruṣayuge in the third line. Then it would mean "Khārvel who flourished in the third "period" of the Chedi dynasty, (Chap. I, Part X, pp. 95). (4) Or it would mean that Khārvel was the third king of his dynasty; (the first and second being Kṣemrāj and Vṛddhirāj). Of these, the second and third meanings seem to me to be more reasonable than the remaining two. Khārvel has stated in the 17th line (and also line

(39) This incident took place before he ascended the throne.

(40) He attacked south India only during his rule. This is made clear in the next line of the inscription. (Cf. pp. 132).

(41) Vol. II, pp. 238, f. n. no. 71; (the chronological list of Ceylonese kings).

(42) There ought to be only one "Va" instead of two in the inscription, An instance of the mistakes in writing in those times.

1st) that he was a descendant of Karkaṇḍu. Counting from him, the number of Khārvel would certainly not be third. Many kings ruled in the line before he came to the throne. Again, had it been meant that he was the third king in the dynasty, instead of "Puruṣayuge", only "Purus" would have been used. Again, looking to his number in the dynasty he was the sixth king as has been shown in Vol. I, pp. 170, which accords with a scholar's statement[43] of the same kind. Hence, the third meaning seems to be the correct meaning of the word.

(Line 3) Discussion about " Purusayug " has already been made above. There is nothing further to be discussed.

(Line 4) For the interpretation read above.

(A) The "second" year of his reign means 100 A. M. or B. C. 427, because he ascended the throne in 98 A. M.; Śrimukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty has recently founded the throne and the dynasty. (Some details about him have been given in Vol. I, pp. 156[44] and pp. 320-22. Fuller details will be given in the following chapters). He was the son of the second Nanda king. He was steadily advancing towards Kaling with hopes of grabbing some territory. Khārvel marched against him with a large army. A pitched battle took place. Śrimukh was forced to retreat, had to change the seat of his capital as far back as Paiṭhaṇ[45] and Nāsik. He had to accept the suzerainty of Khārvel[46] and his dynasty

(43) Part X, chap. I, pp. 103.

(44) Vide the account of Naṇda in vol. I.

(45) The Śātvahana dynasty was founded in 100 A. M. Immediately after that, Śrīmukh was defeated and had to change his capital to Paiṭhaṇ. In the beginning of his reign, he conquered *Berar and established* the seat of his capital there. After six months, however, he had to vacate.

(In Berar there were certain Mahārathis under the rule of Nanda kings. After conquering Berar, Śrīmukh has re-appointed them as his Mahārathis. He married his eldest son with the daughter of one of them. This Mahārathi was the father of Nāganikā, who got the Nāsik inscription erected).

(46) Khārvel was not greedy of land. He annexed no part of Magadh to his empire. Time had not yet influenced kings that way. (Vol. I, pp. 7-8). There was a sort of federal system in Khārvel's times.

began to be called "Āndhrabhṛtyas"[47].

(B) It seems that Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā was another name of the Kṛṣṇā[48]. A city situated on the banks of Veṇā or Bennā would naturally be called Bennātaṭ-nagar (Vol. I. pp. 148. Details will be given further on).

(C) Muṣik (Musik). At first, I thought that it must have been a city situated on the river Musi (cf. B, above). Golkoṇḍā at present is situated on the Musi. Hence, I inclined to the belief that Golkoṇḍa was the ancient Musik. But, in the names suggested by scholars as the possible capital of the Āndhra kings-Paiṭhaṇ, Warrangul, Chāndā, Chinur etc., there is no mention of Golkoṇḍā. Hence that belief had to be given up. Warrangul is situated on the river Muni. Hence "Musik" must have been possible misrepresentation of "Munik"; but then the question would be, when was the capital changed to Paiṭhaṇ? So, that theory had also to be given up. Then came the idea that, as Nāsik and Paiṭhaṇ are situated very near each other, the right word in the inscription must have been "Nāsik" (i. e. Paiṭhaṇ) which has been mistakenly read or interpreted as Muśik[49].

(Line 5) No question arises about this line.

(Line 6) The following are the suggestions in connection with line no. 6.

(A) Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas:—These terms are mentioned in the edicts of Priyadarśin. Scholars believe that they were people

(47) Cf. Sunga-bhṛtyas (Vol. III, pp. 3; Vol. I, pp. 151 and 356 etc.). During the time when "Āndhra-bhṛtya" came into use, there existed the federal system of government. By the time of Śungabhṛtyas, however, times had changed, and kings had become very greedy of land. The term "Śunga-bhṛtya" indicates the condition of the Śungas before they founded their independent rule. Thus, these two terms are not similar in meaning as the scholars believe (Vol. III, pp. 285, f. n. no. 13).

(48) Ānandpur and Vardhamānpur are instances of adjectives from which nouns are formed. (Vide Buddhiprakāś, 1934, pp. 58 and 318; Jaina Dharma Prakāś, Bhāvnagar, 1985, Vaiśākh, no. 2, pp. 58 to 63; ibid Śrāvaṇ, pp. 161 to 174; "Gujarati" 1937, January).

(49) Read further the territorial extent of Khārvel.

inhabiting Central Provinces and the regions between the Tāptī and the Narmadā. We have already made it clear, however, that these terms signify certain positions under a king. For instance, an officer under whose charge there were chariots was called a "Rathik". A superior of several such Rathikas was called "Mahārathik" (Vol. II, pp. 202, f. n. no. 38). Rāṣṭrikas and Mahārāṣṭrikas are but other forms of the same terms. Similarly, the governor of a district was called a Bhojak (Bhukti=region). Asmak or Aśvak was a horse officer. Thus, all these were names of different officers. Naturally these officers were not people who settled permanently at a particular place. The Rāstrikas and Bhojaks, were most of them officers of Śrimukh, whom Khārvel defeated a year ago. Some of the Mahārathikas of Āndhras stayed in Madhya-prānt. Śrimukh's son Gautamiputra Yagnaśri was married with Nāganikā, the daughter of a certain Mahārathik. Chatukānand, Mulānand and other Mahārathikas stayed in Kānarā. If these Mahārāthiks belonged to the same race, they intermarried[50]. In short, they were not names of races who had settled at particular places.

(B) The words about the canal are "Pancame ca dāni vase Nandarāja ti-vasa-sata oghatitam;" which rendered into Sanskrit would be "Pancame cedānim verse Nandarājasya tri-śata-verse avaghattitām." The interpretation put upon this line by the scholars is—"During the fifth year, the canal that was dug in the hundred and third year of Nanda's reign." Let us see whether this meaning is correct. So far as the words "Pancame ca dāni vase" are concerned, the meaning seems to be all right. It is in the remaining part of the sentence that there seems to be a possibility of mistake. That part is compound and can be dissolved in two ways. "Nandarājsya triśatavarṣe" in the 103rd year of Nand's reign, or "Nandarājeṇa triśatavarṣe" in the 103rd year by Nandarāja If we take into consideration the first meaning, it would be:–"In

(50) We see from Marāṭhā history that Marāṭhā chiefs, appointed as governors over various provinces, became independent later on. The same happened in case of Pāṇḍyās, Kadambās, Cholās etc. They intermarried among themselves. They also gave their daughters in marriage to their overlords. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to the eldest son of Śrīmukh.

the 103rd year of king Nand." As no Nanda king ruled for so long a period, this interpretation has to be given up. The second interpretation would be "Another (some) Nanda king had dug the canal in the 103rd year of the Nanda era started by a Nanda king." This meaning also is not tenable, because this dynasty did not last longer than hundred years. A third meaning would be, "Khārvel dug the canal in the 103rd year of the Nanda era." Now, in the first place we have already proved that no. 103 has no connection with the Nanda era. Secondly, Khārvel did not get the canal dug, he merely extended it. So this meaning also will not do.

We now turn to the other way of dissolving the compound "Nandarājeṇa triśata verse." That means, that Nand was the king who got the canal dug, but no. 103 does not refer to his era. Khārvel simply got it extended. King Nand flourished in the 103rd year of a particular era. But this does not seem to be the meaning intended by Khārvel. Had he intended that meaning, he would have separated the words "Nandarājeṇa tivasasata oghatitam.

The true meaning of the line is, that Khārvel got the canal extended in the 103rd year of the Mahāvīra era. This fits in with every historical event. He came to the throne in 98 A. M. So during the 5th year of his reign, it would certainly be 103rd year of the Mahāvīra era. King Nand I ruled from 55 A. M. to 71 A. M. and had taken away the Jaina idol from Kṣemrāj. The Mahāvīra era was started in 527 B. C. We have proved that Khārvel came to the throne in 429 B. C, which comes to 98 A. M.[51] Dr. Konow seems to support our opinion[52]:—"It is postulated that the years are reckoned in the Mahavira era, but unfortunately no mention expressed or implied of the Mahavira era is actually found in the inscription."

(C) Khārvel extended the canal upto his capital through Tansūliya. We have shown that Khārvel got it extended in 103 A. M. When was it first dug? In the account of King Nand I, we have stated that during his reign, there was a year of draught

(51) The dates may be counted any way.

(52) Octa Orientalia, pp. 24-26.

and other of excessive rainfall (Vol. I, pp. 310–11). The first took place between 64 to 72 A. M.=463 to 455 B. C. or about 65 A. M.= 462 B. C. (Vol. I, pp. 371); the second took place in A. M. 59= B. C. 468 (i. e. during the fourth year of Nanda's reign). A writer[53] however, interprets the words "Tri–vasa–sata" as follows:—"Nand had got the canal dug before the end of the third year of his reign." A canal is generally dug to protect people from the effects of a draught.[54] If we accept this interpretation, the year of draught would be 468–9 B. C.[55] Hence, we shall have to make some changes in the dates of the Nanda king. He ascended the throne in 472 B. C. After spending a year or two in consolidating his empire, he marched on Kaling in order to conquer it. Having, however received the news of draught in his kingdom, he hastened back taking back with him the Jaina idol. He then got the canal dug. In 467 B. C. the king of Vatsa and Avanti died without leaving a son behind him; so he devoted his attention there. Then he conquered the provinces of Aparānt and Canārā; thus making conquests complete in north and west India. Then he intended to attack Kaling. Having heard, however, the news of excessive rainfall in his kingdom, he hastened back and had to give up the plan. A year and a half later he died. This proves that there were famines during the reigns of Nand I and of Khārvel.[56]

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(53) Bhā. Prā. Rājvamśa, Vol. II, pp. 246. (No. 103 is discussed there). It is stated there "Some scholars interpret 'tivasa santa' as three hundred years, and some as "in the third year". The first meaning seems to be absurd.

(54) So, canals were dug in those times in order to provide relief from the effects of famine.

(55) The acceptance of this interpretation does not affect the dates of events in Khārvel in any way. It does affect the dates of Nandivardhan's reign. This requires further research.

(56) People seem to believe at present that Nature is a lifeless thing having no regard for (or effect on) mankind. We have proved by historical instances that Nature has a very powerful hold on us.

Changes and revolutions in mankind are sometimes man–made and sometimes nature–made. Nature affects such vast changes by (1) fire, (2) flood, (3) famine. Famine may be due to either lack of rainfall or excessive rainfall. The latter spells ruin of crops, but we get enough supply of water and fodder,

We do not know, whether there was famine in the whole of Magadh or in only a part of it. It is probable, however, that the canal must have been dug in order to give a turn to the waters of the Ganges and the canal must have been dug upto the boundaries of Magadh. Khārvel extended it from there to the seat of his capital, This shows that the canal must have been a very long affair. We have shown in the preceding chapter that Khārvel's capital must have been some where near Jagannāthapurī, some where near lake Chilkā. A writer[57] seems to support this:—"He made a canal from the Bhargavi to Chilka lake." This means that the waters of the Ganges were turned towards the Chilkā, which was in imminent danger of being dried up. The region through which the canal was dug was called Tansuliya.[58]

Hence a draught is more destructive. In connection with it, it is stated in "Studies of Jainism in South India", pp. 21:—"Sometimes the famine extended over the whole kingdom, but more often than not, it was confined to small tracts".

After the nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr in 527 B. C. famines stalked the land pretty often. During Chandragupta's reign, there was a continuous draught for 12 years (Vide his account, pp. 176). That was followed by another famine, which also lasted for a long time. After the time of Sthūlibhadra (A. M. 170= B. C. 357) who was the monk in Mahāvīr's line, there was again a famine in B. C. 304. In short, after Mahāvīr's death, severe famines stalked the land pretty often. Their effects were devastating. This was due to the malign influence of the Avasarpiṇī (Vol. I, chap. I). People, who have received western education, do not give much credence to this view; but they must now be convinced in face of historical pieces of evidence. In Jaina scriptures, it has been explicitly stated that certain natural calamities will overtake mankind after the death of Mahāvīr. The subsequent events have proved this prophecy to be true. During the Utsarpiṇī everything is in progressive scale. No wonder than that people lived longer than we do now, and had greater heights. According to Jaina books during the times of Mahābhārat, the average life was 1000 years and the average height was 30 ft. People at present start with the prejudice that all this is moonshine. That indicates smallness of mind, lack of vision and unwillingness to face facts. We draw the reader's attention to "Famine and the Preservation of books"—a paragraph that will be given later on.

(57) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part II, pp. 14.

(58) A script expert gives the reading "Tosaliya" in place of "Tansūliya". In Dhauli-Jagauḍā inscription of Priyadarśin, this has been stated as the capital of that region.

(D) In the 6th line it is also stated that Khārvel exempted his subjects from all taxes during the 6th year of his reign. This requires some clarification. We know that the followers of the Vedic religion perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice in order to declare the suzerainty of the king, and sacrificed a horse for that purpose. Pandit Jayasvāl has stated about Khārvel[59]—"Being a Jaina king he proved his suzerainty by performing the Rājsūya sacrifice." This interpretation does not seem to be true, because Khārvel himself declares in the following lines that he conquered many countries after performing this sacrifice. The meaning given by the dictionary in connection with this is that it was a sacrifice performed by a suzerain at the time of his coronation[60]. Khārvel, however, was not a suzerain when he ascended the throne. Hence, he must have performed this sacrifice for some other purpose. The preceding words of the line give a clue to the solution of the mystery. It is stated there that he extended the canal for sake of water-supply; and in addition to this he exempted the famine-stricken subjects from all taxes, thus providing double relief[61]. Hence, he performed the sacrifice for the sake of appeasing the god of rain[62].

(7) In the seventh line it is stated that his queen of Vajradhar gave birth to a child. Probably this was the Khārvel's first issue and hence was the heir-apparent[63]. He was born, in all probability of an ordinary queen and not of the queen-consort. "Vajradhar" seems to have been the name of the queen's family. It may have been a branch of Vrijji kṣatriyas. There may have been an error in deciphering the script.[64] Probably the queen's parents lived in the neighbouring region.

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(59) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 375, line 11.

(60) Pp. 655 of the "Sārth Joḍaṇikośa" published by Gūjarāt Vidyāpīṭh.

(61) An example of the nobility and of the sense of duty of kings in those times. (Cf. f. n. no. 11 above).

(62) The sacrifice seems to have been performed after the famine was over.

(63) This heir-apparent came to the throne after him. His name was Vakragrīv. He was born in 105 A. M.=422 B. C.

(64) The word in the inscription is "Vaji-ragharave", which in Samskṛt comes to "Vajramṛhavati". The two words "Vaji" and "Ragharava" are separate,

(8) The 8th line has been interpreted as follows:—" He broke through the Gorathgiri and laid siege around Rājagṛhī. The Yavana chief Demetrius had to leave Mathurā, when he heard of Khārvel's prowess. In the 9th year, the Pallavas...etc."

(A) It is necessary to re-interpret this line. We have already shown that except for one single invasion over Magadh, Khārvel had nothing to do with north India. Both "Mathurā" and "Demetrius" therefore are anomalies. We suggest the following interpretation based on the following suggestions.

(B) Gorathgiri—It seems to have been the name of a mountain stretching near the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā. In the inscription, the reading is "Rājagṛham" = a palace, and not Rājagṛahī the capital of Magadh. This is supported by the word "Pallava" in the line, which the scholars have not at all taken into consideration, because it did not suit with their interpretation. The Pallavas. as we know, were a branch of the Lichchhavīs. Details about them have been given in vol. I, pp. 295–353. They were the governors in south India, and were appointed by Nand I.

(C) Now we turn to the word " Dimit...... " and its possible meaning. In the inscription, the word is "Yavanrāj." Scholars have interpreted it as Demetrius, the Greek chief. They have based this on the belief that Bṛhaspatimitra was the same as Puṣyamitra, who was a contemporary of Patañjali, who stated that the Yavanas invaded Śāket. So, the scholars state that Demetrius had to leave Mathurā and recede to the Punjāb. Some critics of these volumes have stated that historians shoud not dabble in probabilities and that they should state facts only. These critics themselves have indulged[65] in the same mistake. Below, I have stated my objection against this interpretation.

A glance at the chronological list on pp. 464 of Vol. III, will convince the reader that the time of Demetrius is 183 B. C. and that he died in 181 B. C. Puṣyamitra, on the other hand, died

(65) Vide f. n. no. 77 below. Many such instances are found. (Vol. III, pp. 127, f. n. no. 8; Vol. III, pp. 351, f. n. no. 29, f. n. no. 6 above and f. n. no. 30 above.

in 188 B. C. and Patañjali in 190 B. C. The invasion over Śāket[66] by the Yavanas, that is stated by Patañjali to have taken place during the life-time of Pusyamitra, was one by Euthydemos, the father of Demetrius. The political career of Demetrius began after the death of Patañjali. This excludes all possibility of any mention of Demetrius's exploits by Patañjali. Secondly, Demetrius never crossed the Sutlej. What to talk, then, of his having come as far as Mathurā and of his having left Mathurā ?[67]. Thirdly, we have already proved that neither Puṣyamitra nor Patañjali was a contemporary of Khārvel, who ascended the throne in 429 B. C. The first Greek chief to set his foot in India was Alexander the great in 327 B. C. i. e. well nigh a century after Khārvel's time. Hence, Demetrius did not live during the time of Khārvel[68].

The correct readings are " Vanraj " (in place of Yavanrāj) and Madurā (in place of Mathurā) a city in south India. The original words are = "Vipamchitu Madhuram Apayāto" which have been wrongly Sanskritized as " Vipramoktum Mathurāmapayāto " The right rendering, which has been made by a writer[69] is:— " Vipumuśvetum Madhurām Apayāto." The word " Madhurā " agrees more with "Madurā" than with "Mathurā"; a city in south India. The other correct reading, as we have already stated, is Vanarāj[70].

The facts stated below will give a correct idea to the reader. During the reign of Vṛdhdhirāj, Khārvel's father, there prevailed anarchy in Ceylon (Vol II, pp. 269, f. n. 71). There ruled there, a king

(66) It should, in the first place be settled whether the word is Śaket or Śakal. If it is the latter, it would mean Śiālkoṭ, which was once surrounded by Euthydemos, the father of Demetrius. If it is the former, it would mean Ayodhyā, which was invaded by Menander, the general and successor of Demetrius. (Vide their accounts in vol. III).

(67) I. H. Q. 1929, Vol. V, pp. 597.

(68) This refers to Euthydemos the father of Demetrius.

(69) "Jainism in Northern India" by C. J. Shah (Longman's), pp. 161, f. n. there.

(70) The first letter "ya" should be dropped. Vanrāj means the king of the forest.

named Pāṇḍuvās, from A. M. 45 to 75. He persecuted his people very much. A certain person named Abhivijay or Vijay, then came to the throne in 95 A. M. He was a valorous king and gave good promise of a peaceful and prosperous reign. His name has been mentioned in the 3rd line of the inscription, where Khārvel has compared himself with him. Pāṇḍuvās and his followers then took to the life of plundering people. Having fled to India, they settled their head-quarters somewhere in south India, and began to harass the people. When Vrdhdhirāj heard of this, he sent Khārvel to ease the situation. We know, that due to the sudden death of Vṛdhdhirāj, Khārvel had to hasten back to the seat of his capital, leaving the task of conquest unfinished. After coming to the throne in 98 A. M. he could not turn his attention to this affair, on account of various activities, like defeating Śrimukh, Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojaks, the digging of the canal to provide relief from famine etc. At the end of the 8th year of his reign, he found time to turn to south India, invaded it and subdued the Cholās, the Pāṇḍyās and destroyed their palace. While he was preparing to march further, Pāṇḍuvās Vanrāj, having heard the fame of his valour, left Madurā, where he had settled, and receded southwards. Hence, the meaning of the line has no connection either with Demetrius or with Mathurā.

(9) The word "Pallava" is mentioned at the end of the 8th line. The 9th line consists of many allusions to his charitable deeds. It means that these deeds were performed in commemoration of his victories over Pallavas and others. Being a Jain, he also built a large and magnificent Jaina temple called "Mahāvijay" or "Arhat-temple"[71].

(10) In line 10, it is stated that he built "Mahāvijay" at the expense of 38 lacs of coins and started on an expedition to India. Details about "Mahāvijay" will be given later on.

(a) We now turn to scrutinize the interpretation, "started on an expedition to India." The word in the inscriptions is 'Bharadhavas'. It may mean that he started on an expedition to south India.

(b) There is no specific mention of Daṇḍa, Sandhi, Sāma,

(71) Details are given in a paragraph entitled "Mahāvijaya Prāsād" later on.

etc., the ways of politics. It is possible, however, that out of the four cardinal principles of politics, namely, Punishment, Compromise, Persuation and Dissension, the first three existed during the time of Khārvel. The fourth seems to have been found out by Chāṇakya, the prime-minister of Chandragupta. This shows that Khārvel was a predecessor of Chandragupta.

(11) The 11th line is interpreted as follows:—" In the 11th year of his reign, he razed to the ground the Mandi[72] or market place built by a wicked king, and got the ground tilled by donkeys. He also destroyed the body of Tamaras, who were 113 years old."

(A) We do not know who this "wicked" king was. A writer[73] says:—" Instead of the word "wicked" there ought to be the word " King Āva ". He (Khārvel) razed to the ground (ploughed down) with an ass-plough the market town (Maṇḍi) founded by the Āva king." Another writer[74] says on the authority of Sāgarānandsūri[75] that "Kūṇik is related to have ploughed Vishālānagar[76] with ploughs drawn by asses. " This latter interpretation is incorrect due to the following reasons:—(1) Why should Khārvel have re-destroyed a

(72) It is possible that Vanarāj got this market-town erected in order to find a market for the spoils of his robberies.

(73) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. 14, pp. 150.

(74) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. 13, pp. 261, f. n. nos. 1 and 2.

(75) He has based his opinion on "Āvaśyaka Vṛtti" by Haribhadra Sūri, pp. 685-87 and on Hemchandra's "Vīrcharitra", pp. 170-71. We are not concerned with the details here.

(76) The city intended seems to have been "Vaiśālī" which was annexed by Kuṇik after Cheṭak's death. He may have destroyed it for some reason. (On account of its large area, Ayodhyā was sometimes called Viśālā; but that city was at that time under the power of the king of Kośal. Hence, it is out of question).

Avantī's another name also was Viśālā. Vol. III; pp 354, vol. I, pp. 180, f. n. no. 102. Muni Kalyāṇvijayaji has stated in his article "Jaina Kāla Gaṇaṇā" (1987, pp. 31, f. n. no. 28) "Śrī Vīra Nirvāṇāt Viśālāyām Pālaka Rājya 20 Varṣāṇi" i. e. Avantī was called Viśālā once. We are, however, not concerned with it here.

place, that had been already destroyed by Kūṇik ? (2) Khārvel flourished 75 years after Kūṇik. (3) Viśālānagarī is very far in the north from Kaling. In between Viśālānagarī and Kaling, there lay Rajgṛhī and the surrounding region of Magadh and then the river Ganges. Now Khārvel never went so far. This is a good example of the habits of scholars to inflict far-fetched interpretations[77] on inscriptions. Another scholar[78] makes the following statement in connection with Maṇḍi:—" Pithunda-Pituṇda of Ptolemy. It seems, that it is a commercial town of importance. It was the gate to the Tamil-land, as is indicated by the information, which we get from the reading, now proposed by the last portion of this more difficult line:—"bhi(m)dati Tramira desha etc; he breaks up the combination of the Tramil (Tamil) countries—The combination or league had existed for 113 years as the preceding expression says. The Tamil tradition covering up the Pandya, Chola and Kerala Desha is here confirmed." This means that according to the new interpretation[79] of the last portion of this line, Khārvel destroyed the Tāmil league consisting of the Cholās, the Pāṇḍyās and Kerala Deśa[80], because a legend to this effect is prevalent in Tāmil literature. According to Ptolemy, the gateway to Tāmil was the city of Pithuṇda[81], which was a great centre of trade[82]. In short, Khārvel had conquered all these three countries and had destroyed a market-town erected by a wicked king.

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(77) Cf. (C) line 8 above and f. n. nos. 79 and 81.

(78) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. 14, pp. 150–51.

(79) First of all "Tamar" was interpreted as copper and then the meaning accepted was that he razed to the ground a copper pillar. Now a different meaning is put upon it. Thus, various readings and various interpretations are made by various writers. Why should scholars then be impervious to a new interpretation if it has based on facts and figures ?

(80) This refers to the trio of the countries which we call Trikaling, details about which are given in vol. I. Some details will be given later on.

(81) "Pithunda" is now interpreted as the name of a city. Formerly, it was interpreted as an adjective meaning "big". Notice the change in the meaning. (Cf. (C) line 8 above and f. n. nos. 79 and 77).

(82) Its situation is not quite certain; but it was situated somewhere near Tānjore and Sālem.

(B) After conquering all these countries, he turned his attention to north India. We have shown that he invaded north India only once, and that too for the sake of re-bringing the Jaina idol. Scholars believe that he invaded Magadh twice, and that during his second invasion, he laid siege to Pātaliputra and destroyed it.

(12) (A) Sugāngey:—The name is also mentioned in a play named "Mudrā-rāksaṣ". It was the king's palace. We know that Nandivardhan I had taken away the Jaina idol from Kaling[83]. In order to recover the lost prestige, Khārvel invaded Magadh, went to Sugānga and forced Bṛhaspatimitra to fall at his feet. The scholars have identified this Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra. We have proved that the theory is ill-founded.

[Note : Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajit, deciphered 'Bahupatisāsina' in place of Brhaspatimitra.[84] Evidently, the meaning would be changed. Due to the manifold influences of nature, there naturally took place certain changes in the inscription, thus making it very difficult to decipher it. No wonder that different scholars deciphered it in different ways.]

(B) Kalinga-Jina Mūrti—The word "Kalinga Jin mūrti" can be interpreted in two ways:—(1) the idol that was in Kaling. (2) the idol of "Kaling Jin" = Pārsvanāth. The second is the better meaning. Pārśvanāth was called "Kalinga Jin"[85] because he attained

(83) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 372. The translator has stated—"Before B. C. 458 and 400 years before the Vikrama era, Jainism was so much spread in Uddisa that idols were very common there, only 75 years after the Nirvana of Mahavira". (We have proved that the idols became common even before that. Vol. I, pp. 166, f. n. no. 55)

(84) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 373, line 14.

(85) There is a book entitled "Bengāl, Behār and Oḍisā ke Jaina Smārak". A journalist of Surat, belonging to the Digambar sect, has published a book in 1985, which begins with pp. 138 of the former book. It is stated on pp. 16 there:—"There is an allusion to the taking away of an idol of Ṛṣabhadev from Kaling by the Nanda king, in the Hāthīgumfā inscription of Khārvel". (We know that it was not the idol of Ṛṣabhadev, but that of Pārśvanāth.)

[Note:—At first, I also inclined to the view that the idol was of Ṛṣabhadev. (Vol. I, pp. 286, Udayāśva of Magadh founded Pāṭaliputra and got a Jaina

nirvāṇ on Sametśikher which was situated in Kaling. In commemoration of the event, Karkaṇḍu had installed an idol in a temple, built by him in a city at the foot of the mountain. For this reason, this mountain is called "Pārśvanāth" mountain. Pārśvanāth is called "Pūruṣādāniy" in Jaina literature The term means, "the healer of the sick". Many miracles are connected with the name of Parśvanāth[86], and hence his idol is considered the most valuable possession and the worthiest of respect. No wonder that Khārvel thought it incumbant upon him to vindicate himself by marching over Magadh and bringing back that idol from there.

(C) The term "Anga-Magadhā" suggests that "Anga" was a part of the empire of Magadh. During the Mauryan rule and in the inscriptions of Priyadarśin, we find no mention of "Anga" which shows that it had lost a separate political existence by that time. Hence, it is proved that Khārvel was[87], to say the least, a predecessor of Priyadarśin.

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temple built there, installing in it the idols of Nemināth and Ādināth. When the Śunga king Agnimitra destroyed Pāṭaliputra, these idols must have been destroyed. We should note the custom that under the squating figure of the Tīrthanker, there always was carved a Yakṣa couple. Hence, the two yakṣa-idols, which were found out from the neighbourhood Paṭṇā in 1882, which have been placed in the Bhārhūṭa gallery in the museum at Calcutta, and which bear the words "Aja" and "Samrāṭavartinandi" must be parts of these idols. These were the reasons, why I believed that the idol was that of Ādināth or Ṛṣabhadev, the first Jaina Tīrthanker and the founder of Jainism. When, however, I read the description of the idol in General Cunningham's book and saw its plate, I began to hesitate. Then I read Samayasunder's "Tīrthamātā Stavan" (f. n. no. 86 below) (This poet flourished in the 17th century), where the words "Pārśvanāth-Jaganāth" are written side by side. The place of this idol is at present identified with Jagannāthpurī. Hence, these words in the hymn are to be read as "Jagannātha Pārśvanāth". Again Pāṭaliputra was safe and sound, during the times of Nandivardhan I and of Khārvel. Hence, the idol in question had no connection with Pāṭaliputra.]

(86) Some names of Pārśvanāth are given below:—They are recognized such, owing to the places, where they are at present worshipped. "Śankhesarā, Amizarā, Jirāvalā, Stambhana, Falodhi, Sorisaro, Ajāvaro, Antarikṣa, Panchāsaro, Jagannātha. Each name is further connected with a miracle. Details are out of question here.

(13) The interpretation of the 13th line is:—" He brought many rubies, pearls and jewels in ships full of elephants from the Pāṇḍyā king."

(A) This line indicates that the ships were so big that they could accommodate elephants. It may also mean that the ships themselves were elephant-shaped. Perhaps in these ships were carved elephants and horses which were studded with jewels, pearls and valuable stones.

(B) It transpires from the words meaning "this time" in the line that Khārvel had invaded Pāṇḍyā more than once. He first invaded it while he was heir-apparent, as is mentioned in the second line. The second invasion took place during the eighth year of his reign, the mention of which is made in the 8th line. He invaded it for the third time in the 11th year of his reign, when he razed that market-town to the ground.

(14) The 14th line is interpreted as follows:—" On Mount Kumāri, where there is the Religious Wheel (on the Kāyanisidi Stūpa) he fixed annuities for worshippers and Khārvel, who was devoted to worships and who had adopted the vow of Upāsak, realized the distinction between body and soul.

(A) Kumārī means Mt. Khaṇḍagiri or Udayagiri[88] on which was the religious wheel because Mahāvīr had once preached the Jaina gospel from there or Karkaṇḍu, his revered ancestor had attained nirvāṇ here.

(B) Kāyanisidi Stūpa[89]; worshippers and performers of rites and ceremonies at this Stūpa were given fixed annuities by Khārvel, in order to ensure continuity of worship. The Jains erected such stūpas on the remains of the bodies of those persons, who attained to Kaivalya stage and thus became free from the eternal cycle of birth and rebirth. Karkaṇḍu, Khārvel's ancestor was one such. In this Stūpa some remains of his were preserved[90]. The relics

(87) This is one more to those twenty arguments given above about the time of Khārvel on pp. 111 to 121.

(88) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 372, line 15.

(89) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 372, line 17.

(90) J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 372, line 18 and sequel;—" There was a Jaina

preserved generally were either teeth or hair, which were put in a small box and which again was put in the Stūpa. Scholars generally believe that all such Stūpas are generally connected with Buddhism. Now, we have proved (Vide the account of Priyadarśin and of Prasenjit of Kośal, and of Ajātśatru, who erected the Bhārhūta Stūpa[91]), most of these Stūpas are connected with Jainism. Again, the religious signs on these Stūpas clearly prove them to be belonging to Jainism. We have given details about these signs in the chapters on coins in Vol. II. The reader will be convinced that the Hāthigumfā inscription supports this contention.

(C) Khārvel was a staunch Jain and had taken the Upāsaka vow.[92] That means, that he was a regular Śrāvak and observed all the rules laid down for such Śrāvakas.[93] Hence came the realization of the difference between body and soul. He had also begun to build many Jaina temples, so that all Jains might have facilities of worship. He also erected a Stūpa in memory of his ancestor, Karkaṇḍu.

(15) "Sukṛti śramaṇa suvihita śata diśāona gñani[94] tapasvi" etc. The meaning is, "Near the remains of great Jaina Tīrthankeras, ...for his queen Sindhulā of Sinhaprastha.

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stūpa there on the mountain. The bone of an Arihanta was buried under it. There are many caves and temples belonging to Khārvel's time and to the time before that, which bear the foot-prints and symbols of Pārśvanāth. They also bear some words in the Brahmi script. Jaina monks lived in such places". This shows plainly that it is a very old Jaina holy place. During the Marāṭhā period also, the Jains erected a new temple at this place. Many small stūpas and chaityas built by pilgrims are also found here.

(91) Prasenjit pillar and Ajātśatru pillar, which are described in the book "Bhārhūta stūpa". Pictures are given in vol. I, fig. nos. 8 and 9.

Mahāvīr attained to the Kaivalya stage here. A person, who has attained to this stage, has complete detachedness with all the world affairs. They have not to undergo the process of birth and re-birth.

(92) See the Sahasrām inscription of Priyadarśin.

(93) An Upāsak performs worship thrice a day. Śreṇik had this vow (Vide his account). Udayāśva also had got a large temple built at Pāṭaliputra for this purpose (Vol. I, pp. 286).

(94) The right term must have been "ten" because that is the number of directions. Only Kevalis had this knowledge.

(A) Śramaṇa, suvihita:—At the places, where were kept the remains of those monks who had freed themselves from the cycle of birth and death.[95], and at the places where were kept the remains of Arihantas[96] and of Tīrthankeras[97], he erected Stūpas. In short, at all such holy places[98] he erected memorials[99] like Stūpas and others for the sake of the well-being of the people. He erected separate Stūpas and temples for the females of harem.[100]. For instance, for his queen Sindhulā, he erected a magnificent memorial. Four pillars bedecked with Vaiḍūrya jewels, costing 75 lacs were erected for this purpose. Or, he may have erected these pillars for some other purpose.

(B) Sinhaprastha may have been another name for Sinhapur, the place where Sindhulā's parents lived. There was a city named Sinhapurnagar situated in Kaling at that time.

(16) "Erected four pillars studded with Vaidūrya jewels at the cost of 75 lacs. Got the fourth part of Chosaṭhṭhi (having 64

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(95) "Kevali, Arihant, Siddha and Tīrthanker" are four Jaina technical terms having special meanings. A person, who attains the Kaivalya stage, becomes free from the eternal cycle of birth and re-birth. A "Kevali" has nothing to do but the contemplation of his own soul for the remaining part of his life. A Tīrthanker, on the other hand, has the duty of preaching the gospel to the people as long as he lives. Others have no such duty. Only, they solve any difficulty when they are consulted.

The term "Arihant" has three meanings:—(a) One who has destroyed his enemies, external as well as internal (Vol. III, pp. 196). (b) One who deserves worship and honour. (c) One who has become free from the cycle of birth and re-birth. Ordinarily, however, the terms Arihant and Tīrthanker were used in the same sense.

(96) The term "Arihant" is here used in the sense of Tīrthanker".

(97) Cf. f. n. nos. 95 and 96 above.

(98) Vide the account of Priyadarśin for the places, which he selected for erecting pillars and edicts.

(99) The memorials were erected with the view that people, who might see them, might be inspired to lead the same kind of religious life and attain to salvation,

(100) Khārvel looked to the convenience of all.

Adhyayas) which was destroyed during the Mauryan period, repaired. These things were done by Bhiksurāj or Dharmarāj".

(A) The erection of these pillars at such high cost[101] shows his love for the preservation of knowledge.

(B) Let us discuss the propriety of the translation:—"Which was destroyed during the Mauryan period". The original word is "Vochhinum". Scholars believe that Khārvel was a contemporary of Bṛhaspatimitra and hence they have fixed up his time after the Mauryan period. Hence, the translation given above. But we have already proved that Khārvel flourished before the Mauryan dynasty and hence the translation "destroyed" is not proper. Again, if a thing has been already destroyed where is the sense or scope for its reparation? Hence "Vochhinum" must be taken to mean "to be destroyed" or "on the point of being destroyed". Another word which requires scrutiny is "Muriya". There is a blank space before it. There may have been a word or a letter there or there may not have been. It is possible that instead of "Muriya" the original word may have been "Bhūriya"=much In that case, the interpretation would be "the destruction of which (Śrutagñān= power of retaining knowledge in memory) had begun (much) long since[102]". Another probable reading might be "Duriya"=difficult, in which case it would mean, "Śrutagñān" had become difficult to be retained, owing to growing weakness on account of famine". We know that two terrible famines had already stalked the land during the periods of forty-five years, between Nanda I and Khārvel (f. n. no. 56). During the rule of Chandragupta, whose contemporary

(101) It is likely that a change may have to be made in this interpretation. See a little further.

(102) It has been stated in the Jaina scriptures that after the nirvāṇ of Jambūsvāmi (A. M. 64=B. C. 463), certain things will totally disappear. One of them is the "Kaivalya" stage. Khārvel got this inscription erected 47 years after this. Bhadrabāhu, the preceptor of Chandragupta was the fifth Śruta Kevali (Vol. II, pp. 156, f. n. no. 70).

In short, though the retentive power for knowledge was on its way to decline, that decline was not so rapid during the time of Khārvel as to deserve the term "Bhūriy"

was Bhadrabahu, two great famines spread through the length and breadth of the land (A. M. 156 to 170). It is also stated in Jaina books that after the time of Bhadrabāhu, people's retentive power will decline. The same prophecy was made by Mahāvīr. For these reasons Khārvel had thought it his duty to protect the Śruta-gñān from being destroyed[103]. A third reading is "Itariya"; but this seems to be rather far-fetched, because the letter "Mu" is already there. It would have been proper, had the word been "Riya" only[104]. A fourth reading is "Puviya" (relating to Pūrvas) which means "concerning former times".

A writer has suggested the following changes[105] in connection with this word. In the inscription the words are "Pān Tariyāsata Sahasehi Muriyâ Kāla Vochhinam", which the scholars have rendered into Sanskrit in the following way, "Pancha Sapta Śata Sahastraih Mauryakāla Vyachchhinnam". Instead of that he suggests the following reading:—" Panantariya Saṭhivasa Sate Rājā (Mu)riya Kāla[106]"="In the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of the Mauryan kings". This means that the preservation of books was effected by Khārvel in the 165th year of the Mauryan era. We know that this is not possible because Khārvel flourished before the beginning of the Mauryan dynasty and again, there was no epoch like the Mauryan era. If we read the word "Anantariya" instead of "Panantariya" and retain the remaining part of the reading suggested by this writer, and interpret "Saṭhivasa Sate" as "after 60 years", the meaning would be "Sixty years after this[107] preservation was effected by Khārvel". That would come to 98+13+60=171 A. M., 98 A. M. being the year in which Khārvel ascended the throne, and 13 representing the 13th year of his reign

(103) Vol. I, chap. I, and also f. n. no. 56 above. The Avasarpiṇi began in B. C. 523. During Avasarpiṇi, all kinds of decline, physical, mental and moral begin. Hence, Khārvel adopted this wise step for the preservation of knowledge which was in danger of being forgotten.

(104) F. n. no. 106 below.

(105) J. B. O. R. S. Vol. IV, 1918, pp. 395, correction no. 13.

(106) Cf. the third reading "(Ita)riya Kāla". Cf. f, n. no. 104.

(107) Cf. f. n. no. 102 and its text on the preceding page.

in which this inscription was carved out. It was in this year that the last Śruta-kevali, Bhadrabāhusvāmi, the great Jaina monk died (Vol. II, pp. 156-57). It had been predicted by Mahāvīr that there would be a rapid decline in the retentive power of the people from 171 A. M. onwards, i. e. from the death of Bhadrabāhu. Prof. Jacobi in his introduction to Kalpasūtra, pp. 11 has said, "He (Bhadrabāhu) being the last who knew all the Pūrvas". Immediately after 171 A. M., the preservation of Śruta-gñān (knowledge attained by hearing) was effected by committing it to books by Sthūlibhadraji[108] the diciple of Bhadrabāhu. The prophecy having been publicly made by Mahāvīr, it was impossible that a staunch Jain like Khārvel should not have known it. Hence, the meaning of "Vochchhinam" should be "was to be destroyed" or "was begun to be destroyed".

(C) Now we turn to that part, which tells us of the reparation of a fourth part of the Chosaṭhṭhi. The words in the inscription are:—" Choyaṭhi-anga-satikam-turiyam ", which may be rendered into Sanskrit as:—" Chatuh ṣaṣṭikāngam Saptikam Turiyam "[109]. This phrase is made up of two parts, one about Cosaṭhṭhi, and the second about Anga Saptikā. In connection with the first, Dr. Fleet believes[110]:—"And he produces, causes to come forth (i. e. revises), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Angas". Pandit Jayasvāl[111] on the other hand believes:— "The four-fold (for the fourth) Anga-Sāptika of 64 sections, lost in the time of the Maurya (king) he restores". Dr. Konow differs

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(108) It is stated in the Jaina books that when Bhadrabāhu was in Nepāl, Sthūlibhadra had gone to him at the request of the Jaina lay-community of Pāṭaliputra, to study the holy scriptures. Chandragupta became a Jaina monk under Bhadrabāhu, after this. The storing and preservation of books under the guidance of Sthūlibhadra took place after that. Sthūlibhadra was the eldest son of Śakaḍāl, the prime minister of the 9th Nanda king. "Vide vol. I, pp. 310, f. n. no. 32 and pp. 339 for his time."

(109) Some details in connection with this are given further on. Read f. n. no. 56 above.

(110) J. R. A. S. 1910, pp. 827.

(111) I. H. Q. Vol. V, 1929, pp. 589.

from both and says[112]:—"He restores the sixty-four section Anga, that had become obsolete at the time of the Mauryan king, included in a Saptika". Thus, the first scholar believes that Khārvel restored only the 64th chapter of a book, the second believes that he restored the last part of the four parts of the book, and the third believes that he restored the whole book (containing 64 chapters). Dr. Konow, however, has also mentioned the word "Parikamma" in connection with his theory. It means "the first part of Dṛṣtivād"—(a Jaina holy book=Āgam). Connecting this meaning with Anga-Saptika, it would come to "The Anga consisting of sixty-four sections". Mr. Rāmprasād Chaṇdā says in this connection:—"Only sixty-four were included in the recension restored by Kharvel". These are in short the various theories about 'Chatuṣaṣṭika".

Let us now turn to the word "Saptika". According to Dr. Konow's opinion, "Satik" means "Sappiya" in Prākṛt and Saptika in Sanskṛt. So the whole word "Angasaptika" would be "a treatise comprising seven chapters[113]". "Satik" may also mean "Saṭik"= "with commentary". Then the whole phrase would mean, "Khārvel restored with commentaries the Dṛṣṭivāda-Anga consisting of 64 chapters, which was on the point of being destroyed". This seems to be a good interpretation. Bhadrabāhu, the preceptor of Chandragupta, also composed four-fold commentaries (Chūrṇi, Avachūri, Vṛtti and Niryukti) in order to save the Jaina scriptures from total oblivion. Khārvel also must have done so, by himself or by the advice of some great monk. Pandit Jayasvāl seems to support this view. The word "Turiya" which comes behind "Satik" seems to suggest that out of the four kinds of commentaries, only the fourth (Niryukti) was composed by Khārvel.

(D) "Bhiksurāj and Kṣemrāj"—The words in the inscription are:—"Khemrāja sa Vaḍharāja sa Bhikhurāja and Dharmarāja". This insertion of "sa" shows that Kṣemrāj and Vṛddhirāj and Bhikhurāj were separate individuals. There is however no "sa"

(112) Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, pp. 19; I. H. Q. Vol. V, 1929, pp. 589.

(113) There are eleven "Angas" in Jainism. This interpretation would be all right, if any of them had seven chapters.

between Bhikhurāja and Dharmarāja. That shows that they are the names of the same individual. The name "Dharmarāj" must have been given to Khārvel, because of his performing many religious deeds. Khārvel was a highly religious king.

(17) 17th line. His policy was that of religious tolerance. He got all the churches repaired. Khārvel, who descended from the sage-like line of Pravṛttachakra.

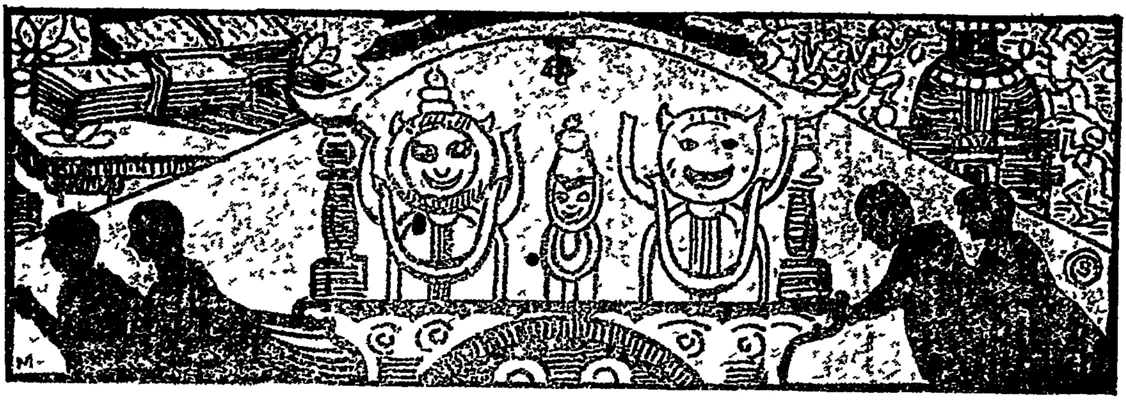
(A) "Tolerant of all faiths". The words in the inscription are "Savapāsaṇḍ Pūjako". The word "Pāsaṇḍ" had not the meaning in which it is used now[114]. This shows that his religious policy was generous as that of Priyadarśin.

(B) A detailed discussion of "Pravṛttachakra" and "Rājarṣi" has already been given while discussing line 14.

We have now finished the scrutiny of all the seventeen lines.

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(114) The term "Devānāṁ Priyah" seems to have suffered the same fate. In the edicts of Priyadarśin, it has always been used in good sense. In Buddhist and Vedic literature it has been used in the sense of a "fool".



Chapter IV

Khārvel (contd.)

HĀTHĪGUMFĀ INSCRIPTION (explained)

Synopsis:—*Connection between the occurrence of famine and the preservation of books by Khārvel.*

Details about "Mahāvijay and Arhat"—The place where "Mahāvijay" was erected.

The Jaina idol of Kaling and the feud between the kings of Kaling and of Magadh for its possession—Opinions of various scholars about that idol—A detailed discussion of each of these opinions—Conclusions that we draw from this discussion—Concurrence of other things with these conclusions.

Details about the seven places of pilgrimage (From the Jaina and from the Vedic points of view)—An appeal to scholars to conduct research work in connection with the idol—Some details about religion and culture—The probable period of idolatry.

Why is Khārvel's name not found in other religious books?

KHĀRVEL (contd.)

Hathigumfa Inscription further explained

We have shown in the preceding chapter that the meaning of the term "Vochchhinam" was to be taken as "to be destroyed." Let us now see whether "Duriya" is more appropriate than "Muriya".

On pp. 26 of Vol. II, (f. n. 126), a chronological list has been given of the monks that succeeded Mahāvīr in direct line. His second successor was Jambū, who attained to Kaivalya stage in 20, and attained to salvation in 64 A. M.[1]. Then this Kaivalya stage became difficult of attainment, during the influence of Avasarpiṇi. A "Śruta-Kevali" is one, who is on par with other forms of Kevali in knowledge; but is inferior to him in certain other matters[2]. The last Śrutakevali was Bhadrabāhu, the precepter of Chandragupta. He was also the preceptor of Sthūlabhadra, the eldest son of Śakaḍāl the prime-minister of Nand IX and the elder brother of Śrīyakaji, a prime-minister. Bhadrabāhu flourished from 139 to 170 A. M. This means that upto 170 A. M., at least knowledge was preserved in memory and hearing. As time went on and as famines became more frequent, the retentive power of men began to decline. Knowledge which was above the senses[3] came on a lower stage. Retentive power[4] was on the wane. Bhadrabāhu had the knowledge of all the Pūrvas and Angas with their meanings. His disciple had not this much knowledge[5]. In short, knowledge was in need of being

Connection between the occurrence of famine and the preservation of books

(1) When a monk attained to the Kaivalya stage, he gave up all connections even with religious activities. He led a perfectly detached existence. Hence, Jambū was succeeded by his disciple in 20 A. M.

(2) Vol. II, pp. 156, f. n. there.

(3) Knowledge is of two kinds:—(a) one derived through the senses, (b) the other derived independently of the senses. Kaivalya knowledge belongs to the second category, which was on its decline.

(4) Cf. f. n. no. 7 below.

(5) Sthūlibhadra had seven sisters. All of them became Jaina nuns. They

preserved right from 64 A. M. Khārvel accomplished that task in 112 A. M.

Simultaneously with the decline in retentive power came the irregularities in monsoons and the consequent famines. We know that terrible famines attacked the land during the times of Nand, Khārvel and Chandragupta.[6] When the first famine took place, Bhadrabāhu was in Nepāl. Sthūlibhadra, who was in Pāṭaliputra at that time, had less knowledge. Hence, at the request of the Jaina lay-community there, he went to perfect his knowledge[7] under the able guidance of Bhadrabāhu. By that time came the second onslaught of famine, at the end of which Sthūlibhadra called a meeting of the Śramaṇas. This meeting is known as the "Vāchanā" of Pāṭaliputra. In short, in connection with the preservation of knowledge by books achieved by Khārvel, " Duriya " is a better reading.

These two words are mentioned in lines 9 and 10 of the inscription. We know that in those times, kings were not fond of commemorating their own names[8]. They made use of religious symbols[9] in their edicts and inscriptions. Khārvel seems to have adopted the same policy in his inscriptions. He performed numerous deeds for the good of his subjects and for the spread and permanence of his religion.

Details about "Mahāvijay" and "Arhat"

Scholars believe that Khārvel got this " Mahāvijay " palace built in Kaling, because it is mentioned in the Hāthigumfā

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had knowledge to a certain degree only, when he had not renounced the world. Vol. I, pp. 336; f. n. no. 43; Vol. II, pp. 26.

(6) Vol. II, pp. 119, f. n. no. 21; Vol. II, pp. 191, f. n. no. 138; vide the account of Chandragupta.

(7) Vol. II, pp. 169, f. n. no. 22; Vol. II, pp. 25 to 28.

(8) Vide chapters on coins in vol. II. Priyadarśin has not mentioned his name even in his inscriptions. The Chedi kings, the Mauryas and the Nandas have not mentioned their own eras in their edicts.

(9) The "Elephant" is the symbol of Priyadarśin. Khārvel seems to have used his sign at the beginning and at the end of the Hāthigumfā inscription. Vide J. S. S. Vol. III, pp. 382, f. n. no. 14.

inscription, which is in Kaling. I want the readers to be clear about "Kaling" as the name of a country and "Kaling" as the name of the empire over which Khārvel ruled. The first is but a part of the second. I do agree that the palace was built in the Kalinga "empire". The point upon which I want to dwell is, whether it was built in the Kalinga "country" itself. Now, when something is built or erected in one's native country, we find specific mention of a demonstrative adjective before the name of that memorial[10]; if, on the other hand, the memorial is erected in a country, other than the native country, no demonstrative adjective is used. Khārvel has stated all the events that took place in his reign in this inscription. Hence, it would not be proper to accept the theory that all these events took place in the Kalinga "country" only. Wherever he wants us to understand that a particular event took place in Kaling proper, he says so clearly. Where, therefore, no such specific mention, is made, we have to understand that the event took place outside Kaling. In lines 9 and 10, where the erection of "Mahāvijay" is mentioned, we do not find any indication that it was built in Kaling. We should bear in mind that all the things mentioned in the inscription refer to south India except one, and that the names "Pallava" "Pāṇḍyā" and "Madurā" have been clearly given. Hence, the palace must have been built in the only remaining unspecified part of the empire, namely, Cholā, which we have called Dhanakaṭak[11], Benkaṭak or Bennākaṭak.

A word or two remain to be stated here about Dhankaṭak. We have stated that Śreṇik had to stay at Bennātaṭnagar for two or three years before he ascended the throne in 580 B. C. We have also described an incident in connection with his stay there, in which a merchant named Gopāl could buy all the goods of a foreign merchant, who had challenged the capacity of the whole city to buy his goods, by means of the gold dust which he had in vast stores. This indicates that in those times Bennātaṭ

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(10) For instance, the canal was extended upto Talsūyā. Hence, whenever a place in the country itself was meant, specific mention has been made of it.

(11) Details about Dhankatak are given in vol. I, pp. 147 to 160.

was a large and flourishing commercial centre, perhaps larger than Pāṭaliputra and Rājgṛhī.[12]. The city enjoyed almost the same condition during the time of Khārvel (425 B. C.). It also appears that the city enjoyed the same prosperity during the time of Priyadarśin, because the coins of king Pulumāvi[13] bearing two sails have been found out. At what time, it met its end is not the subject within the scope of this book.

We have now proved that the "Mahāvijay" palace was built in the region around Bennātaṭ. It has been recently stated by the archeological department that a large stūpa has been found in the vicinity of Amarāvati and Dharaṇikoṭ in the same region. This points to the conclusion that in times of yore, there must have flourished a large city there[14]. The Government Archeological communique dated 30–12–39[15] states, that the remains of a monastery have been found out in the vicinity of Bezwāḍā in Godāvari district. Books[16] have been published on the subject of research–work conducted in the region around the Kṛṣṇā. A study of these books reveals the fact that this region must have been a very prosperous one in ancient times. The capital of that region must indeed have been a large and prosperous city stretched well over an area of 15 to 20 miles.

The Amarāvatī stūpa was for the first time found out by

(12) Pāṭaliputra was founded in 439 B. C. (Vol. I, vide the account of Udayāśva). By the time of Khārvel, thus, it had long been founded and was in a prosperous condition.

(13) Vide A. R. S. I. Vol. I, pp. 5:—"The inscriptions we have of Pulumāvi and Yagnashree from Amarāvatı". For details about Pulumāvi and Yagnaśri, read further the account of the Āndhra dynasty. (Yagnaśrī lived from B. C. 289 to 280 and Pulumāvi from 282 to 225 B. C.).

(14) A. S. S. I. Vol. I, (New Imperial Series, no. 6), pp. 13; Pr. Bha. Vol. I, pp. 162.

(15) Pra. Bha. Vol. I, pp. 65, f. n. no. 53.

(16) A. S. R. I. Vol. 15; Read the details about Gūṇḍıvāḍ and other cities of Kṛṣṇā region. Three pictures from there have been reprinted in vol, I, plate V and VI, figs. no. 20, 21 and 22.

Col. Mackenzie[17], who says:—" In the inscription, this building is called the Mahachaitya or the Great Chaitya." On pp. 104 of the same book, it has been stated in connection with plate 39, that the word "Arhat" is found in the inscription on the stūpa. Khārvel, as we know, has stated in the Hāthigumfā inscription that he built a palace (stūpa) named "Mahāvijay" as a mark of his devotion to the Ārhat (Jaina) religion, at the expense of 38 lacs of coins. Again the terms "Mahāvijay" and "Mahācaitya" mean the same thing. The Amarāvati stūpa, even in its present condition, plainly indicates that it must have been built at the expense of lacs of coins. Hence, looking to all these indications, it would not be improper to conclude that Amarāvatī stūpa is the same as "Mahāvijay" mentioned in the Hāthigumfā inscription. The publisher of Col. Mackenzie's book[18] states:—"Long after Col. Mackenzie's time, it was first surmised that the Amarāvatī stūpa was a Buddhist document." He further states:—"His own belief that it might be Jaina, was credible." In short, Amarāvatī stūpa is definitely connected with Jainism and is the same as the "Mahāvijay" mentioned and built by Khārvel.

At what time was the stūpa built? Scholars believe that it must have been built in the second or the third century B. C. We have proved that it was built by Khārvel, who lived in the 5th century B. C. In connection with this, it would be better to quote an extract from Col. Mackenzie's book[19]:—"There is so much of Greek rather than of Bactrian art in architectural details of the Amarāvatī Tope, that the first inference is, that it must be nearer to the Christian era......with the revised date of the inscriptions, the date of the rail in the second part of the century...... The Stūpa itself is much older as is shown by the sculpture and the inscriptions, especially one in the Mauryan character, recording the gift of a pillar by the General Munda Kuntal." The last sentence shows that by the time Muṇḍa Kuntal performed an act

(17) A. S. S. I. Vol. I, (New Imperial Series, Vol. VI), 1882 (printed in 1887), pp. 23.

(18) Ibid, pp. 23.

(19) Ibid, pp. 12.

of charity during the Mauryan times, the stūpa had already been (before B. C. 372 to 234) in existence, in all probability, for a long time.[20] In short, the Stūpa was erected by Khārvel in the 9th year of his reign in 421–20 B. C.

The significance of the idol

We have stated in Vol. I, pp. 171 & further, that Karkaṇḍu being a follower of Pārśvanāth, got a temple built and installed in it a magnificent idol of Pārśvanāth. We have shown how the Chedi and Nanda kings waged furious wars for this idol. We have also stated in the previous chapters that in this region is situated the most sacred place of Jains, namely Mt. Sametśikhar, over which 20 Jaina Tīrthankers attained to nirvāṇ. The last of these being Pārśvanāth, the mount is also called Pārśvanātha Hill.

But the Nandas and the Chedis were not the only kings to fight for this region. Priyadarśin waged a terrible war against Śatakarṇi for this very region. Both were Jains[21]. This indicates the degree of intensity with which Jaina kings loved[22] their holy places and idols.

Why did these kings fight for this idol and for this place ? There must have been some deep significance[23] attached to both. Kings erected memorials[24] and inscriptions to commemorate their victories here. Jains were really very devout and devoted in those times.

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(20) This is also one more proof that Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were not contemporaries.

(21) We have already proved that Priyadarśin was a Jain. We shall prove later on, that most of the Śātakarṇi kings were Jains.

(22) It will be clear from this, that Priyadarśin fought a battle in Kaling not for the acquisition of land but for securing right to have a place of pilgrimage. He erected there the inscription of Dhauli and Jāguḍā. It pained his heart to see so many persons die on the field of battle.

(23) It is possible that Priyadarśin got a full-size elephant carved out here for this very reason. At other places, he has inscribed merely a sign of the elephant (Vol. II, pp. 325 to 327).

(24) The Dhauli inscription of Priyadarśin seems to have been erected with this end in view. The aim of Khārvel in erecting the Hāthīgumfā inscription was also religious (Read further).

In this very region is situated the famous city of Jagannāthpuri. People flock there from the whole of India and accept and eat with devotion the kind of dish that is served to all of them without distinction whatsoever. A writer[25] has said:—" This is a universal temple. All kinds of people from all parts of India come here to worship God. It is the gate-way to heaven." Sir William Hunter has said[26]:—" Hindu religion and orthodoxy[27] are seen here exemplified for last 1800 years. He also states further on[28]:—" These followers of the ancient legends (not of Purāṇas) believe that the magnificent temple (the original temple of Jagannāth), which was built by the king of Mālwā[29], was destroyed......The temple that we have to-day was built much later on, in A. D. 1198 by a king named Anang Bhimdev." Many miraculous legends have been woven round the temple and the idols in it, just as many were woven around the temple and the idols, about which we have given details just previously.[30]

The same writer states further on[31]:—" On the west[32] (of its capital) was a mount named Puṣpagiri, which was full of numerous Stūpas and Vihāras. The mount must be the same which we now call by the names Udayagiri[33] and Khaṇḍagiri[34]. In these

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(25) "Jagannāth nī Mūrti ane Bhārat nun Bhaviṣya", pp. 105; by Thakker Nārāyaṇ Visanji, an orthodox Hindu and a well-known writer. (See f. n. below).

(26) Ibid, pp. 105. The writer is now dead.

(27) Details about this place will explain this clearly.

(28) Ibid, pp. 108.

(29) We do not know the name of this king. Details which follow, give us to understand that he was a predecessor of Yayātikeśarī.

(30) This indicates the importance of the idol.

(31) Ibid, pp. 110.

(32) For details about the directions of these places, see f. n. no. 33 below.

(33) Vide vol. I, for details about Rājgṛhī. There were five hills around it. Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri are two of them. This range of hills stretched upto Kaling.

[Note:—Our own details about directions agree with those of this writer. We have also stated that the capital of Kaling was situated near the lake

mounts there have been found out many[35] Buddhist[36] caves and inscriptions. Five miles on its east is a place named Bhūvaneśvar[37] which contains numerous temples." He states[38] further on:—" Some historians are of the opinion that the temple of Jagannāth is a Buddhist[39] Stūpa and that the idols in it are Buddhist idols[40]. There is a legend current which supports this." He has stated that the time of this legend is about 300 A. D. He describes the present temple[41] as follows:—" The yard of the temple is almost square. It is 652 ft. × 644 ft.[42]. There was a strong wall around it, the height of which is 22 ft. Inside the wall are numerous temples[43] which are dedicated to different gods[44]. The largest and the most magnificent temple is dedicated to Jagannāth. Its spire is 192 ft.

Chilkā, and that there was a mountain on its west, at the foot of which is the edict of Dhauli Jāguḍā. In the mountain itself is this Hāthīgumfā. (It is one of the many caves in the mountain)].

(34) We have shown above, that these two hills were called Puṣpagiri in olden times.

(35) They are in hundreds. (Read the extract from "Kalyāṇ" about Bhūvaneśvar given later on).

(36) We have already proved that wherever the scholars have used the term "Buddhist" we have to understand the term "Jain". They have based their conclusions on the theory that Aśok and Priyadarśin were names of the same individual. We have proved that they were separate individuals and that Priyadarśin was a devout Jain. So, many of the edicts ascribed to Buddhism, have now been proved to have been connected with Jainism by us.

(37) For this, an extract has been quoted later on from Kalyāṇ.

(38) Ibid, pp. 112.

(39) F. n. no. 49 below. Cf. f. n. no. 36 above. "Buddhism" should now be re-placed by "Jainism" in such cases.

(40) Details about this point are given later on.

(41) Ibid, pp. 113 (Jagannāth nī Mūrti ane Bhārat nun Bhaviṣya).

(42) Cf. the description of Bhūvaneśvar given later on.

(43) Cf. this with the descriptions of the architectural details of Jaina temples. Many Jaina temples have two protective walls.—interior and exterior. The inner wall has small temples all around in the interior. In these temples are installed idols of different Tīrthankeras. We see all these things in Jaina temples even to-day (Jaina temples on Girnār, Śatruñjay, Ābu etc.).

(44) Jaina temples also contain large temples inside the inner wall (See the Moṭiśā Śeth Group-temples on Mt. Śatrunjay).

high and has a conic shape with varied sculptures. Due to the effect of time, its colour has become dark. It is decorated with the Sūdarśan Wheel[45] and flag of Viṣṇu. The main entrance to the temple is called the Lion-entrance[46]. In the yard, in front of it, pilgrims gather in large numbers. At that place, is a large and magnificent monolithic[47] pillar[48]." Next comes the description of the idol of Jagannāth. The interior of the temple is so dark that even at mid-day, nothing can be seen without the help of a lamp.[49] Then, he has alluded to a statement made by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in his " Antiquities of Orissa " that[50]:—" The temple must be Buddhist in the origin."

Let us now turn to details about Bhuvaneśvar, which is mentioned in f. n. 33 and 37 above. In the Śrāvaṇ 1990, special number of " Kalyāṇ ", (called Shiva-number) Vol. VIII, No. I, it is stated on pp. 570:--" Bhuvaneśvar is about five miles from the station. Its ancient name is Akāmrakānana. It was the capital of the famous Keśari dynasty of Udiā. It is said that in ancient times, there were 7000 temples in this place. Yayāti Keśari, the first king of the Keśari dynasty, had begun to erect this Bhuvaneśvara temple in 580 A. D.[51]. Around the temple on all the four sides there is a strong wall 7 ft. in height, 520 ft. (?) in breadth

(45) Cf. the details about the religious wheel at Takṣillā, which has also been called "Chakratīrth" on account of this reason (Vol. III, pp. 212-224).

(46) In Jaina temples even to-day, the main entrance is called the Lion-entrance.

(47) Most of the pillars erected by Priyadarśin are monolithic. Does this pillar belong to those times ?

(48) In Jaina temples in south India, a pillar (Mān-stambha) is always erected in the yard. This is a speciality of Jaina temples only.

(49) We cannot say, why these idols were kept in such darkness. Generally the construction of the temple is such that there is arrangement for good light to fall directly on the idol.

(50) F. n. no. 39 above; pp. 117, line 2 of "Jagannāth nī Mūrti ane Bhārat nun Bhaviṣya".

(51) This shows that the temple existed in a different condition before this time.

and 600 ft. in length. Inside this wall are one hundred temples dedicated to various gods. In the middle is the temple dedicated to God Bhuvaneśvar. In front of the main entrance to the temple is a magnificent pillar called the Aruṇa pillar. The idol (Linga) of Bhuvaneśvar is very big. Its circumference is 8 ft. and its height is almost the same. Such a large idol of Śiva is found at no other place.[52] The shape of idol is a bit strange. It is a huge slab of stone divided into three parts representing Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. Just as in Jagannāthpuri, here also people are served with the same kind of dish, irrespective of castes." These two descriptions of Jagannāthpuri and Bhuvaneśvar show that they resemble each other in almost all points, except some geometrical details. That means that they represent the same religion.

General Cunningham[53] has published two books, one about Bhārhūta Stūpa and the other about Sāñchī and Bhilsā Stūpas. It is believed by scholars that these stūpas belong to Buddhism. The stūpas found in both these places bear the religious symbols called "Tri-Ratna". While stating his views on this point, he[54] has also stated that an image has been found in the Sāñchī region[55], which resembles the image in the chief temple of Jagannāthpuri[56]. He says:—" Considerable interest attaches to the symbol of Tri-ratna, as there can be no reasonable doubt that the rude figures of Jagannāth and his sister and brother, now worshipped with so much fervour in Orissa, have been directly derived from three of these symbols, set up to-gether in one of the Sanchi sculptures[57] ......I may add that the Jagannāth figure in Orissa is universally

(52) In the extract itself, the word "not" is not given; but the sense, as we see, leads to that.

(53) Later on, he was honoured with knighthood.

(54) He is an authority on such matters.

(55) Nos. 22-23 of plate 32 in "The Bhilsā Topes".

(56) "Bhārhūta stūpa", pp. 111-112.

(57) This clearly shows that there ought to be some resemblance between the Sānchī stūpa and the idols at Jagannāth. (Cf. f. n. nos. 58 and 59 below. The idol is neither Vedic nor Buddhist. Hence it must be Jaina).

believed to contain a bone[58] of Krishna; but as Brahmins do not worship[59] the relics of their gods, I conclude that this bone must be a relic[60] of Buddha[61] and that the rude figure of Jagannath in which it is contained is one of the Tri-ratnas or Triple-gem symbols of the Buddhist Triad[62]. The able reviewer of Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent worship (Mr. Healy in the Calcutta Review) remarks that one of General Cunningham's happiest hits in his derivation of the three fetish-like figures of Jagannath and his sister and his brother, from three of the combined emblems of the Buddhist Trinity, placed side by side as at Sanchi. The resemblance, he adds, is rude but unmistakable."

The extracts quoted above tell us one thing very clearly. It is that the temple at Jagannāthpurī did not originally belong to the Vedic religion. Let us now try to find out, to which religion it owes its origin and present importance.

A discussion of the extracts

Let us first arrange the details quoted above, in an orderly fashion with a view to the time of the Jagannāth temple. It has passed through many vissicitudes and its present condition does little represent its original condition. We are told that in about 300 A. D. all the numerous temples around it were destroyed. Then later on, a king of Malva, got a temple erected there. We cannot say when this temple was destroyed, and how. Again in 580 A. D.,

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(58) J. B. A. S. Vol. 18, pp. 97.

(59) The Brahmins consider the remains of a dead body an impurity which they do not touch. Jains, on the other hand, preserve them and worship them. (Kalpa S. S. Com., pp. 123).

(60) Cf. f. n. no. 61 below. The scholars do admit that the idol has been deformed.

(61) In Buddhism also, the relics of a dead body are considered to be worthy of worship. (Cf. f. n. no. 58). These relics, however, do not belong to Buddhism as is shown in f. n. no. 57 above.

Whenever Brahminism or Śaivism were in ascendance, the followers of these faiths, destroyed many Jaina temples and made changes in many other idols and temples. Modern research-work proves this very clearly.

(62) For details vide pp. 358-59, para 10-11 of "Bhilsā Topes".

king named Yayāti Keśari, who ruled over that region, began the construction of a large temple there, over the remains of the old one. The unfinished temple was completed 75 years later by a king, who was the fourth in the same line. This temple and all the other temples around it were again destroyed, we do not know when. Then in A. D. 1198, a certain king named Anang-Bhimdev repaired and rebuilt them. We see them to-day almost as they were built by him.

Now, we turn to the details of its construction and of its idols. The idols represent Śrī Krsna, his brother Balarām and his sister Subhadrā. The idols resemble the Triad of Buddhism. This suggests that the idols must originally have been Buddhist. This theory is supported by the fact that there is a bone in the interior of the idol, which the Brahmins consider impure. The idols are deformed and are installed in a dark room. Many legends are current about the miracles of the idol. A common dish is served there, which is devoutly accepted by pilgrims of all kinds. As regards the construction of the temple we are told that the main temple is in the middle of a large courtyard, which is surrounded by another strong wall. In front of the main entrance of the main temple is a large monolithic pillar. The temple at Bhuvaneśvar also has the same construction, but the idol there is not so miraculous as the idol at Jagannāthpurī.

Looking from the historical points of view, we can arrange the above facts in the following manner. The idols may have originally been Buddhist. The temple in which they were installed was destroyed in about 300 A. D. Now the Guptas ruled at this time and a great religious change took place in their times. As Sir John Birdwood[63] says:—"No country has witnessed as many religious revolutions as India". When the Mauryan rule ended and the Śunga rule began, one such religious revolution had taken place. The Śungas who were staunch followers of the Vedic religion, persecuted the followers of all other religions and especially of Jainism. Another such revolution took place at the beginning of

(63) Maurya Sāmrā. Iti., pp. 208.

the Gupta rule. They were also followers of the Vedic religion and forced it upon the people of those countries which they conquered. On account of this, Vāsudev I of Mathurā, a Kuśāna king, had to give up Jainism (pp. 51 above). The Guptas also conquered the region of Avantī from the Chasṭhaṇas and began the destruction of the Jaina memorials and relics there. As in south India, so in east India, they effected these religious changes in their religious fervour. Hence the destruction of this temple must have taken place in about 300 A. D. at the hands of the Guptas.

Then a certain king of Mālwā rebuilt the temple, which was again probably destroyed. In 580 A. D. Yayātikeśari[64] got it rebuilt. It is not certain whether any king of Mālwā[65] had ever under his power the country of Kaling. Most of the kings of Mālwā were followers of Jainism[66]. Hence it is quite possible that one of them destroyed the work of the Guptas and rebuilt a Jaina temple at the place. We also know that Daśarath, the grandson of Aśok, was allowed to establish an independent dynasty over Magadh (Vol. II, pp. 356 and appendix C). One of his descendants is said to have been on the throne in the 7th century A. D. Probably he contributed something to the reparation of this temple, because he also was a Jaina king. A third possibility is that Yayātikeśari built or repaired the Bhūvaneśvara temple, and not the Jagannātha temple, which was finally built by Anang-Bhimdev. A religious revolution took place after the rule of these Keśari king in the

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(64) Bhūvaneśvar and Jagannāthpurī are situated at the distance of 5 to 10 miles from each other. Hence, they must have been under the rule of the same king. They resemble each other in the architectural design. They may have been constructed at the same time.

(65) In the region around the Sutlej, there dwelt a people called the "Mālvas". Their king, however, was not called "Mālavapati". This people do not seem to have ruled over any region at any time.

(66) See the list on pp. 187 of vol. I. At this time the country was ruled by Yaśodharman or Vikramāditya and by Bhojdev, the old. The Vedic scholars believe that they were the followers of the Vedic religion. Jains believe that they were Jains. Looking to the religion followed by other kings of that time, they must have been Jains.

8th century A. D. Śankarāchārya flourished[67] during that revolution. On the throne of Mālwā was a king named Devaśakti[68] (A powerful king as the name suggests); and Yaśodharman[69] was the king of Gwālior. Being a mighty ruler, he was called Vikramāditya. A famous Vedic scholar named Vākpatirāj flourished during his time. He was the author of a book "Gauḍavaho". The same period produced an equally celebrated Jaina scholar named Bappabhaṭṭasūri, who having defeated Vākpatirāj in a public discussion (Vol. III, pp. 209) converted him to Jainism. In short, the Vedic religion being in ascendancy during these times, the temple was converted to a Vedic place of worship. Finally it was rebuilt by Anang–Bhimdev.

The fact that there is in the interior of the idol a bone of Krsṇa points that it is not a Vedic idol. Again, caste-distinctions are preserved with great care in the Vedic religion. But at the temple itself, a common dish is served to all the pilgrims without observing such distinctions. Thirdly, a similar triad has also been found out at Sāñchī. These facts prove that the temple has nothing to do with the Vedic religion.

Let us see, whether the place has any connection with Buddhism. Who were the kings who ruled this region upto 300 A. D. ? From B. C. 475 to 372=103 years, the Chedi kings ruled over the place. All of them were Jains as has been already proved. From B. C. 372 to 204=168 years, the Maurya kings ruled the place, all of whom except Aśok, were Jains. From B. C. 204 to A. D. 300=500 years, the Āndhra kings generally ruled the place. Most of them were Jains, but some of them were followers of the Vedic religion. We have, however, already proved that this temple has no connection

(67) The following are the dates of Śankarāchārya:—

Birth A. D. 788=V. E. 844. Death A. D. 820=V. E. 876 : Age=32. During the same time flourished Kumārilbhaṭṭa and his brother-in-law Maṇḍanmiśra, and Govinddās. They were all great Vedantists.

Bhavabhūti flourished in about A. D. 690–750 about.

Vākpatirāj flourished about the same time.

(68) See the dynastic list given in vol. I, pp. 187.

(69) See the dynastic list given in vol. I, pp. 187.

with the Vedic religion. Again, the facts given above plainly show that the place was uniformly under the rule of the Jaina kings. Hence, it is proved that the idol belongs to Jainism. The fact that the idol represents Kṛṣṇa, his brother and his sister, excludes any possibility of its having been prepared by Aśok, because Buddhism did not exist in Kṛṣṇa's time. Scholars have based many of their conclusions on the theory that Priyadarśin was but another name of Aśok. We have proved that this theory is ill-founded. Hence, we finally prove that the idol belongs to Jainism. One more fact supports this view. "King Śobhanrāy * of the Chedi dynasty founded an idol of Pārśvanāth near Jagannāthpurī and built a magnificent temple there. As his successors were Jains, the place flourished as a centre of Jaina pilgrimage. Āchārya Vajrasvāmi visited the place in the 1st century of the Vikrama era. With the advent of Śankarāchārya this place was converted to a Śaivi centre" (Jaina Satya Prakāś, vol. IV, no. 1–2, pp. 20).

Now we turn to a study of two or three points:—

(1) The miraculous stories woven around the idols of Pārśvanāth:—"One of them is given below for the sake of illustration. When king Yaśodharman ruled over Gwālior, there lived a famous Jaina monk[70] named Siddhasen Divāker. It is stated in Jaina books that[71] while he was sleeping one night, he dreamt that in the idol of Śiva[72] in the Mahākāleśvara temple in the cemetery of the city

(*) Karkaṇḍu had built this temple (vide pp. 108); this proves that Karkaṇḍu's another name was Śobhanrāy.

(70) Siddhasen Divāker is believed to be a contemporary of Śakāri Vikramāditya (B. C. 57). I believe that he was a contemporary of Vikramāditya of Gwālior. (Vide "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", 1983, nos. 6, 7, 9, 10. "Haribhadra-sūrino Samayavichār).

(71) For details we refer the readers to the Jaina holy books.

(72) The idol of Śiva is believed to have been in a temple in the cemetery just outside Ujjaini, because he is believed to be a contemporary of Vikramāditya of Avantī. In popular imagination, the name Vikramāditya is always connected with Ujjaini. The miraculous legend about the idol is not affected at all, if we shift the time from 8th century A. D. to 1st century B. C. It is possible that this is the same idol which is a maid-servant of king Udāyin

there was the idol of Pārśvanāth. Next day he propitiated the idol with proper rites, with the result that the idol burst and out came the idol of Pārśvanāth. Many other similar legends are connected with the idols of Pārśvanāth[73], which have been installed at various places under various names[74].

(2) Monolithic pillars in the yards:—We are not quite definite about the origin of this custom. Upto 300 A. D. no such pillars were erected anywhere in south India. Priyadarśin did get erect many such pillars, at the top of which he placed figures of lions. But he does not seem to have made any provision for lighting lamps on them. One fact deserves notice in this connection. The Digamber sect of Jainism was at this time getting more and more powerful in south India. Many south Indian kings had become the followers of this sect.[75] In courtyards of their temples (called "Basti"), they used to erect large pillars. Government reports give descriptions of many such temples in south Canārā. In short, this system had come into vogue in the 5th or 6th century A.D. (pp. 166 above). There is also a large pillar in the Bhuvaneśvara temple. Probably the followers of the Vedic religion adopted[76] this

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of Sindhu, brought with her to Avantī, for which Udāyin invaded Avantī, and which was allowed to remain in Avantī on account of a heavenly prophecy. (Vol. I, pp. 124 and pp. 216). The position of the idol was not affected so long as Jaina kings ruled over Avantī. During the rule of the Śungas or of the Guptas, the idol may have been concealed within the idol of Śiva. It may not have been destroyed because of the miraculous powers connected with it. Then Siddhasen may have again brought it to light.

[Another legend recognizes this Ujjaini idol to have been erected in the times of Āryasuhastisūri, the famous preceptor of king Samprati alias Priyadarśin.]

(73) F. n. no. 60 above, last part; also vol. I, pp. 74 and pp. 215 above.

(74) Pārśvanāth flourished in the 8th century B. C. The previous Tīrthankers, however, know everything about him by the power of their Kaivalya-knowledge. Hence the idol of Pārśvanāth was worshipped long before he was actually born.

(75) E.g. The Ajaṇṭā caves and the temples at Badāmī and Aihol.etc.

(76) This custom began later on. In Jaina pillars, arrangement for lamps is made at the top only. In Vedic ones, lamps are lighted through the whole length (This required further research).

system in order to make the people believe that the temples originally Jaina were Śaiva ones[77].

(3) The religion followed by Śri Kṛṣṇa and his brother and sister:—The followers of the Vedic religion believe strongly that the heroes of Rāmāyaṇ and of Mahābhārat were all followers of their faith. The Jains believe equally strongly that they were the followers of Jainism. We have stated in Vol. III, pp. 207, f. n. 24 that king Kalki destroyed a temple of Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. Now, Kalki was a follower of the Vedic religion. Hence, the temple of Kṛṣṇa which he destroyed must have belonged to Jainism.

In short, we come to the conclusion that the idol and the temple of Jagannāthpurī are connected with Jainism.

Last words about the idol

Religious fanaticism can go to any length.[78] The story quoted above of Siddhasen Divāker shows that idols were often changed beyond recognition[79] by religious fanatics. Some changes of the same kind seem to have taken place in the case of this idol also. In the first place, it is placed in a very dark room[80]. Its present appearance is described by a writer in the following words:—"The colour of the idol of Jagannāth is black. The eyes are round and the head flat, with a square piece of slab at the top. The nose is big and pointed and the face resembles the half-moon[81]......(Then follows the account of the idol of Balabhadra and Subhadrā)... The idol of Jagannāth is on the left, that of Subhadrā in the middle, and of Balabhadra on the right"[82]. A common dish, as

(77) To solve these problems, temples of Śiva, which were built before this religious revolution, must be examined.

(78) The Muslims played a havoc on the non-Muslim temples in India. The Śaivas did the same in south India.

(79) Vol. III, pp. 203, f. n. no. 15.

(80) Ibid, pp. 114 and 115.

(81) The purpose behind this deformation may be to conceal the identity of the idol. Cf. f. n. no. 82 below.

(82) The purpose behind this arrangement may be to distract the attention of posterity.

has already been stated, is served to all.[83] We know that the Jains recognize no caste distinctions (Vol. I, pp. 25 & pp. 255 etc.). A story of Śri Kṛṣṇa is given in Jaina literature. It will give us an idea of the miraculous power of this idol. There took place once a fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandh, the king of Magadh. Jarāsandh, by the power of his magic, rendered lifeless the army of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa, thereupon, propitiated his favourite deity, who gave him a miraculous idol of Pārśvanāth, asked him to wash it, and to sprinkle the water on the army. It need not be said that the army came to life and that king Kṛṣṇa was victorious. This idol is now at present installed in a village named Śankheśvar in north Gūjarāt. But when we think of the place, where this battle between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandh took place, we cannot help surmising that the idol may be the same, which we now find at Jagannāthpurī. The various names of Pārśvanāth have been woven together in a verse[84]. No wonder that people in those times were fanatically devoted to this idol, that kings fought furious battles for its sake, and that Priyadarśin should have erected two edicts in its vicinity and a memorial[85].

A verse, giving the names of seven sacred places in India,

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(83) Paṇḍharpur in Mahārāṣṭra is the centre of the pilgrimage of Viṭhobā. There also a common dish is served to all the people. (Details are given in "Bhilsā Topes").

(84) *Couplets no.* 9 and 10 of that prayer are as follows:—

Śorisaro, Śankheśaro, Panchāsarore;
Falothi hambhaṇ Pāsa, Tīratha te Namun re ॥ 9 ॥

Antarika, Ajāvaro, Amizarore,
Jirāvalo Jaganāth *, Tīratha te Namunre ॥ 10 ॥

* The real word ought to have been Jagannāth. "Jaganāth" in the verse may have been necessitated through prosodic contingencies, just as "Antarika" is given in place of Antarikṣa. Or the original word may have been Jaganāth which subsequently may have been changed to Jagannāth. Such errors are very common in ancient history.

(85) Pp. 101, f. n. no. 30 above, for the distance between the Dhauli and Jāguḍā inscriptions.

was quoted on pp. 178, f. n. 93 of Vol. I. One of the places mentioned in the verse is "Purī" which has been commonly identified with Jagannāthpurī. As all details about Jagannāthpurī have already been given above, we may now discuss the verse at length. The verse is as follows:—

The seven sacred places

"Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñchī, Avantikā,
Purī Dvāravatī Caiva Saptaitā Mokṣadāyikāh."

Seven names have been given above. Of them, Avantikā means Ujjaini, and Purī means Jagannāthpurī and Dvārāvati means Dvārkā. But what about Māyā and Kāñchī. Māyā was probably connected with Buddhism. Kāñchī is a shortened form of modern Kanjivarām in south India. It is also known as a famous Buddhist place. We do not know why two places, not in any way connected with the Vedic religion, are included in this verse, supposed to be enumerating Vedic sacred places.

Another way in which the verse can be arranged is as follows:—

"Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Pāvā, Champā, Sāñchī, Avantikā
Purī Dvārāvatī Caiva Astaitā Mokṣadāyikāh."

This verse enumerated all the eight places of Jaina pilgrimage. At Pāvā, Mahāvīr attained to nirvāṇ. At Champā Vāsupūjya, the 12th Jaina Tīrthanker attained to nirvāṇ (Vol. I, pp. 74 f. n. 13). Sāñcī is believed to be a sacred place of the Buddhas. We have already proved that both Sāñcī (Vol. I, pp. 182 & seq.) and Jagannāthpurī are centres of Jaina pilgrimages.

A word of warning

We have proved above that the temple at Jagannāthpurī is connected with Jainism. This will not be easily accepted by those, who are confirmed in the belief that it is associated with the Vedic religion. To such readers we appeal that they should hear to reason and argument, on which always a truth must be based. That truth came out in spite of the manifold efforts in the 300

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(86) Two or three instances have already been given. (F. n. nos. 81 and 82 above).

A. D. to hide it.[86] Imagine the condition of non-Buddhist people, when Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra declared that it was connected with Buddhism.

In the census to-day, Jains are represented as a non-Hindu in community. That is not as it should be. Jains are Hindus i. e. Indians. Both the Vedic religion and Jainism aim at the resurrection and development of the soul of a human being.

Idolatry

The evidence based on inscriptions and edicts has, as shown above, proved the existence of idols as far as 429 B. C. during the time of Khārvel. Hence, the theory of many scholars that there was no idolatry in ancient times is ill-founded. Udayāśva built a Jaina temple in Pāṭaliputra and installed a Jaina idol in it. The remains of the idol [87] are seen to-day in the Museum at Calcutta. This proves that idol-worship existed in ancient times[88].

A problem

The details given in the Hāthigumfā Inscription have to be taken as absolutely true, because they are supported by other independent sources. The problem we have here to consider is.—"Why is absolutely no mention made of Khārvel in Vedic, Buddhist or Jaina books ?"

Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra declared in his "Antiquities of Orissa" that the temple at Jagannāthpurī was connected with Buddhism. We have seen that the original temple was destroyed in about 300 A. D. King Yayāti Keśari began to build a new temple[89] in 580 A. D., and it was completed 75 years later, by the fourth king in

(87) Idols older than these times are also found. But we are not sure of the exact time of their origin. (Vol. I, pp. 166, f. n. no. 55).

(88) Wherever there are idols there is also idolatry. Certain idols have been found out, the origin of which has not yet been fixed.

(89) The temples of Jagannāth and Bhūvaneśvar are very near each other. The latter was built by king Yayātikeśari. They are situated in the same region at the distance of about 10 miles from one another. Hence, all along the course of time, they were under the powers of the same rules and suffered equally from religious revolutions.

the line. During this very time, i. e. 580 A. D. to 655 A. D., the famous Chinese traveller Huen-Tśāng visited India. He also visited this district. But in his memoirs,[90] we find no mention of this temple. This shows that the place has no connection with Buddhism.

It is stated[91] in C. H. I.;—" His (Khārvel's) family has found no place in the dynastic lists of suzerains, which are handed down to posterity by the Purāṇas." This may be due to any of the following three reasons:—(1) The Purāṇas were composed in the 4th century A. D. and hence, there is no mention of the Jagannātha temple in them. This argument, however, is not sound, because the temple was destroyed in about 300 A. D., the time when the Purāṇas were being written. (2) Another argument is that the temple being connected with the Vedic religion, any mention of Khārvel may ultimately lead to the truth of the temple having been originally connected with Jainism. (3) The third argument is that as Khārvel was a Jaina king and as the Purāṇas are chronicles of the Vedic kings, no mention of his was necessary. This is scarcely tenable, because in the Purāṇas, we do find mention of many non-Vedic kings like the Mauryas, the Greeks and others. The second reason seems to be, therefore, the sounded.

It is all right, if both the Buddhist and Vedic sources are silent about Khārvel. But why are also Jaina books silent about their most devoted protagonist ? Once, I inclined to the view that Khārvel must have been a follower of the Ājivika sect, which was founded by a certain Gośālak, details about whom are given in Jaina books. Later research, however, as has been clearly shown above, has proved that he was a devoted follower of Jainism. The only reason that can be given for this inexplicable silence is that many old and ancient books have been destroyed. These books must have contained a full account of Khārvel. I hope that research work in this direction will yield fruitful results.

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(90) "Records of the Western World". Two volumes.

(91) Ibid, pp. 536.



Chapter V

Khārvel (contd.)

Synopsis:—(*3*) *Khārvel* (*continued*).

No. 103 in the Hāthigumfā inscription—More details about it—Proof to the effect that it does not belong to the Chedi era—The meaning of the term "Trikaling"—The duration of the life of Khārvel—His family—His territorial extent—Merchants of Trikaling traded with the Persians in the west and with Indonisians (Sumātrā, Jāvā etc.) in the east, showing that people in those times were sea-faring and had trade relations with very distant countries—Khārvel's social and political life—A comparison between Priyadarśin & Khārvel.

(*4*) *Vakragriv : Parvateśvar : Details about him—the tragic end of his life.*

(*5*) *Malayaketu : Makardhvaj—The end of the Chedi dynasty.*

(3) KHĀRVEL (contd.)

We have already proved on pp. 122 to pp. 126 that this number belongs to the Mahāvīra era. Even then the question lingers whether there is any possibility of its being connected with the Chedi era. The Chedi era was begun in 558 B. C. when Karkaṇḍu came to the throne. 103 would then mean B. C. 455. But Nandivardhan was already dead a year ago in 456 B. C. Hence no. 103 does not belong to the Chedi dynasty. Again concluding that B. C. 455 would mean the 5th year of Khārvel's reign. That means that he came to the throne in 460 B. C., and his father Vṛddhirāj ruled from 470 to 460 B. C. and Kṣemrāj from 506 to 470 B. C. that is long before the Nandas came even to the throne. Thus the whole history would be changed.

No. 103

This term is commonly interpreted as consisting of Ang, Bang, and Kaling. But no proof is advanced for this contention. Let us then find out what it really means. We have stated geographical details about Anga[1] and Chedideś[2] in vol. I. Before accepting the theory that Ang, Bang and Kaling represent Trikaling, we have to consider the following points:—

Trikaling

(1) There was no common language in these three countries, and they did not belong to the same race.

(2) Scholars believe that Anga consisted of the district of Bhāgalpur in Behār, Bang of the district of Murśidābād in Bengal and the region to the south of it, right to the sea-shore; while the boundary of Kaling began from the Mahānadī and lake Chilkā. (This is of course not the right geographical position of Kaling). Now the first two countries, Anga and Bang, are situated near each other; but Kaling is separated from them by a large tract of land (consisting of the modern districts of Bardavān, Midnāpore, Bālāśinore, Cuṭak etc.) which was under the power of Magadh.

(1) Vol. I, pp. 103 and pp. 136 to 143.

(2) Vol. I, pp. 161 to 163.

Now this shows that fhe term Trikaling does not connote Anga, Bang and Kaling. In those times, kings believed in having mastery over one continuous territory and could not brook any intermediate piece of land being in the power of another ruler. The European system of colonizing countries situated thousands of miles from the motherland did not exist in those times. Again, the very name Trikaling implies the idea of three countries situated side by side with no intervening piece of land belonging to another ruler, between them.

(3) We have shown in vol. I, pp. 136, that the real situation of Anga is not in the district of Bhāgalpur as the scholars believe, but in Central Provinces. Considering this way, we can say that Anga and Kaling were situated side by side. But what about Bang? Ancient books make no mention of any country of that name. The term seems to be of a recent origin. What then is the propriety of considering it to be a part of a very ancient term like Trikaling?

(4) Looking from the geographical point of view, if we consider Anga, Vaṁśa and Kaling as the constituent part of Trikaling, they are situated side by side, and the power of Karkaṇḍu did stretch over all the three.

(5) The meaning of Trikaling, however, as it is used in the Hāthīgumfā inscription, seems to be different from the one given just above. Khārvel had conquered almost the whole of south India upto Ceylon and Pāṇḍyā and Cholā. Hence, it would be more proper in his case to interpret Trikaling as a group of Kaling, Cholā and Pāṇḍyā, which are also situated side by side. The people inhabiting all these three countries were of the Drāviḍian origin, thus implying a sort of cultural unity among them.

(6) In "The History of Orissa" Dr. R. G. Banerjee has stated on pp. 43, Vol. I, that Trikaling was a combination of Utkal, Koṅgod and Kaling. Utkal stretched from the river Dāmodar to the Vaitarṇī, Koṅgod from the Vaitaraṇī to the Bangdhārā and Kaling from the Bangadhārā to the Godāvarī. Thus according to him, Trikaling was one continuous region from the Dāmodar to the Godāvarī.

(7) On pp. 145, Vol. 14, of J. O. B. R. S. it is stated:—" It has been discovered that the Kaling people went to Burmā long before the Christian era and established a kingdom, which comprised three districts & hence called Mudu-Kaling (Mudu means three in the Telugu language) or Trikalingas. " Whole country was a part of the Trikaling." Trikaling:-Kaling, Koṅgod and Utkal.

(8) The author of " Bhārat no Prācīn Rājvamśa" Vol. I pp. 37, states on the authority of Sir Cunningham that Trikaling consisted of Dhankaṭak, Āndhra and Kaling.

We have given above various theories about Trikaling. We do no want here to discuss, which theory is true and which is not. One thing is certain, that Trikaling meant different things at different times. During Khārvel's time, it meant the whole territory from the Mahānadī in the north to Ceylon in the south.

The duration of his life

We have proved above that he ascended the throne in 98 A. M. at the age of 25[3] and that he ruled for 36 years[4]. This has also been stated by him in the inscription. This means that he was born in 73 A. M. (B. C. 454) and that he died in 134 A. M. at the age of 61. The following table will make things clear:—

	A. M.	B. C.	Age	Years
Birth	73	454	0	0
Heir-apparent	88	439	15	10
Coronation	98	429	25	36
Death	134	393	61	—

One scholar[5] is of the opinion that like Chandragupta Maurya, he also renounced the world in his later life and became a Jaina monk. He says:-" Last of all, in the right orthodox fashion, he spent his last years as a sanyasi[6] in the hills of Udayagiri, where

(3) Line 2 of the Hāthīgumfā inscription (pp. 129 above). E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 207, f. n. no. 2.

(4) I. A. Vol. I. pp. 350.

(5) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 14.

(6) He must have actually become a Jaina monk. He must have, however, decided to refrain from worldly activities as far as possible. Thus, though he

the two storied rock-cut palace still stands." His queen[7] had got the palace[8] built for him. This means that the queen was responsible for the Hāthigumfā inscription and not Khārvel himself, because it was the queen who got the rock-cut palace (i. e. the Hāthigumfā cave) built. Again, if we accept this true, we must also admit that he ruled for less than 36 years. Some years must be assigned to his life as a monk[9] and during that period his successor might not have ascended the throne. In line No. 7 of the inscription it is stated that the Vajradhara queen gave birth to a son. Hence, at the time when the inscription was prepared his age must have been only seven years. Khārvel may not have thought it wise to renounce the world and become a monk, when his son was only seven years old. The best way must have seemed to him to settle Udayagiri as the place of his residence and probably the Siṁhaprastha[10] queen got a palace built there, for

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was the king, he did not take an active part in the affairs of administration. Hence, do we find the words "as a Sanyāsi" in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 14.

(7) It seems that it was the queen, who got the whole inscription prepared. J. S. S. Part III, no. 4, pp. 366, line 8; it is stated there:—"The inscription that was prepared by Khārvel himself." In line 5, pp. 374 of the same book, it is stated:—"His queen has properly described him as a Chakravarti". This latter quotation showts hat the writer is not sure, as to who got the inscription prepared. Certain phrases in the inscription itself, however, point to the conclusion that it was his queen who got the inscription prepared:—Line 2.—He was heir-apparent for nine years; Line 7.—His queen Vajradhara; Line 8:—His deeds contentedly; Line 10:—He built the Mahāvijaya palace".

(8) In the preceding chapter, we had arrived at the conclusion that the foot of Mt. Sametśikher stretched upto Dhauli-Jāguḍā inscription of Priyadarśin and upto Bhūvaneśvar, the place of the Hāthigumfā inscription. In the light of the facts stated above, that conclusion had to be little modified.

(9) F. n. no. 6 above.

(10) Sindhulā must have perhaps not been the Queen-consort. Otherwise, she would have described herself that way. We also surmise that the son born of the Vajradhara queen must have been the heir-apparent, but in those times, it must not have been necessary to recognize the mother of the heir-apparent as the Queen-consort. The custom must have been to recognize that queen as the Queen-consort, whom the king married first. Why has the Queen-consort not taken any part in the preparation of the inscription?

this purpose. Thirdly, the inscription tells us of those events that took place during the first fourteen years of Khārvel's rule. Why did the queen stop there ? Why did she not get inscribed the events that took place during the remaining years of Khārvel's rule ? Two explanations can be given for this. Either the queen must have died or there might have come a change in Khārvel's life. A third explanation is that the inscription might have been prepared in the 14th year of the reign. We know next to nothing about the queen[11]. Probably the inscription was prepared in the 14th year of his rule, when also a great spiritual change overtook him. Lines 14, 15 and 16 of the inscription clearly indicate that Khārvel's mind was rapidly inclining towards leading a purely religious life. In line 14, we read that he realized the distinction between body and soul. Henceforth he seems to have decided to lead a detached and secluded life, though nominally he remained on the throne.

If the conclusions drawn above prove to be true, we might arrange the dates of Khārvel as follows:—He ruled for 36 years and died at the age of 61. When he reached the age of 40, he ceased to take any active part in political activities, and for the spiritual welfare of his soul[12] began to lead a secluded life on Mt. Udāyagiri, where queen Sindhulā got a two-storied rock-cut palace built for him. The day to day administration was conducted by the ministers, who consulted the king on important points. The heir-apparent was a minor at that time.

The inscription contains the names of two queens. One was of Vajradhara (line 7) who gave birth to the heir-apparent in 105 A. M. = 422 B. C. The name of the other is Sindhulā of Sinhaprastha, who got the palace built, and got the inscription carved in 112 A. M. = 415 B. C. As none of the two is described

(11) I was led to believe that Khārvel must have lost all interest in worldly affairs due to the death of Sindhulā Queen in the 14th year of his reign. This belief had, however, to be given up because no piece of evidence was found to support it.

(12) Read the foot-notes in this connection in the previous chapter.

as the Queen-consort, there must have been a third queen to enjoy this position. Again it is stated in one book[13]:—" He (Khārvel) married the daughter of Haṭhisāh or Haṭhisimh, the grandson of Lālak[14]. " Still another writer has said[15]:—" Not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian Gulf as well as in Ballabhi[16] and Pātal, but Khārvel has married a princess of Vazirā, west of the land of Mādras, beyond the present Afgan border[17]." Had the writer given any piece of evidence in support of his statement, it would have been very good. The things stated therein do not seem to be probable. So far as Khārvel's connections with the Persian Gulf, the Vallabhi kingdom and the Pātala[18] regions are concerned, we may accept his statement. But his connections with Mādra and Vaziristān do not seem within the bounds of possibility. The Mādra country[19], from where king Pāṇḍu of Mahābhārat married his wife Mādrī, is the region between the Chināb and the Rāvī in the Punjāb. Vaziristān is situated in Afgānistān. Now, as we have already proved, the whole of northern India was under the power of the Nandas and that Khārvel never bothered himself with northern India except once inc onnection with that idol. It may perhaps be argued that Khārvel's merchants had trade relations with these countries and hence the marriage might have been negotiated and arranged by them, and that there was no necessity to conquer north India for this purpose. But then, the marriage must have taken place before Khārvel retired

His family

(13) C. I. pp. 16.

(14) Little is known either about Lālak or about Haṭhīsā or Haṭhīsimh. We know that the Chaṣṭhaṇa kings were later on called "Śāha" kings. (Vol. III, pp. 266). May be Haṭhīśāh belonging to that dynasty ? Hence the writer may have connected him with Afgānistān, thinking it to be the place of the origin of the Chaṣṭhaṇas.

(15) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 24.

(16) Perhaps the Vallabhī dynasty of Saurāṣṭra.

(17) Cf. f. n. no. 14 above.

(18) Vol. I, pp. 212, the triangular region near the Sindhu at the place where she flows into the ocean.

(19) Vol. III, pp. 105, f. n. no. 17.

to a secluded life on Mt. Udayagiri. Had any such marriage taken place, there must have been some mention of it in the Hāthigumfā inscription. Hence, this point requires further research[20].

He seems to have no other issues except the heir-apparent, who was born in 422 B. C. and who later on succeeded him, assuming the name Vakragrīv. It is said that he had another son named Vairocak[21].

The extent of his territory

The Hāthigumfā inscription is the only source of information about Khārvel. A writer[22], after making a study of the inscription, has said:—"In the case of Khārvel, a year of conquest-tour was always followed by another of the deeds for the good of his subjects." This observation is true. We know in what circumstances he came to the throne. The first two lines of the inscription tell us that he had by that time acquired experience, both in administrative affairs and in the arts of warfare. So, he spent the first year of his rule in consolidating his kingdom. This was a very wise step. Śrimukh, who had recently founded the Āndhra dynasty, did not follow this policy and became too eager to conquer new lands. As a result of this, as we already know, he[23] suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Khārvel, was forced to shift the place of his capital as far as Nāsik, and had to accept the humiliating position of being called "Āndhra-bhṛtya"[24]. This was a brilliant victory for Khārvel, looking to the fact that he achieved it only in the second year of his reign. To subdue Bhojakas and Rāṣṭrikas like the chief of the Āndhra king was then for him an easy task. His

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(20) For the present, we may conclude that the merchants of Khārvel had trade-relations with these countries. (Cf. pp. 188-91).

(21) For details vide the account of Mayuradhvaj.

(22) Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, vol. III, no. 4, pp. 374.

(23) Line 4 of the Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(24) For this reason, Śrīmukh and his successors were called Āndhra-bhṛtyas. For the difference in meaning between Āndhrabhṛtya and Śungabhṛtya vide pp. 136, f. n. no. 47 above. Details, as to when the Śātavahana kings wiped off this stain, are given in the account of that dynasty.

kingdom now extended over the whole region between the Narmadā and the Kṛṣṇā. He followed this policy of alternate years of activity and rest, and at last subdued the Pallava, Cholā and Pāṇḍyā chiefs, and became the master of all territory upto the city of Madurā. During one of these years, he also led an expedition to Magadh, forced Bṛhaspatimitra to fall at his feet and brought back that famous idol. A year later, he destroyed[25] the market-town (Maṇḍi) built by a wicked king and routed all the gangs of robbers, who had settled in places round Madurā. He now became the lord of all the territory upto Ceylon[26] and united under one banner, people speaking the Uriyā, Tāmil and Telagu languages respectively. From that time, he was fitly called the lord of Trikaling.

By this time, B. C. 415, Nand IX was steadily establishing power in Magadh, which had recently undergone a period of misrule and anarchy under the weak Nanda kings. Khārvel had no greed for extending his territory[27]. He decided to lead the rest of his years in peaceful contemplation of the soul.

One writer has stated[28]:—" Kharvela had sea-borne trade with Persia. Probably he had also colonies in Burmah and further India." We have no genuine piece of evidence to support this statement. The Hāthigumfā inscription makes no mention of it. Hence, all we can say for the present is, that this subject requires

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(25) This seems to have taken place in the 11th year of his reign i. e. in 109 A. M.=418 B. C. (Cf. f. n. no. 26 below).

(26) We have stated in the account of Udayāśva that his son Anuruddha and his commander-in-chief Nāgadaśak, had conquered the whole of the south India, including Ceylon (Chrono. Vol. I, B. C. 491=A. M. 36 to B. C. 482 =A. M. 45). In this connection, the script experts have deciphered no. 113, which seems to be a mistake, to synchronize with other events it is likely to be 73 or 63. The same kind of mistake was committed in connection with line no. 5, where no. 103 was mis-read as 165.

(27) In the same way, Nand never turned his eyes towards south India with a view to conquering land, though he could have done so from 415 B. C. onwards, when Khārvel retired from active political life. Kings in those times were not covetous of land.

(28) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 14.

further research. One writer[29] has also stated in this connection:- "The people of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonization in further India and the Indian Archipelago......Kern recognised that South Indian tribes took the most prominent part in the colonization of the Indian Archipelago and among the Simbiring tribe (which means the black)[30] there are five sub-divisions designated Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Palawi. In these five names, he rightly recognised the south Indian names Chola, Pandya, Pahlava or Pallava and Malayali or Chera." He further states[31]:—"The Kalingan origin of the earliest colonists from India does not depend merely on the terms now applied to Indians in the Archipelago, but also on definite archeological and historical evidence.'" We cannot say that these islands of Jāvā, Sumātra etc. were under the power of Khārvel, just as we cannot say that his territory extended upto the Persian Gulf.[32]

His religious and social life

We know that he took equal interest in conquests as well as in deeds for the well-being of his subjects, and that each year of political activity was followed by a year, in which he performed social and religious deeds, like performing sacrifices, erecting temples and palaces and giving money to the poor. He defeated the Pallava king and erected at the cost of 35 lacs of coins[33] a palace named Mahāvijay in the region between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. Then he made arrangements for the preservation of books, got them copied down and got commentaries prepared on them.

All his public deeds are mainly religious, except that of extending the canal. His private life also was highly religious. He had taken the vow of an Upāsak and strictly observed all the

(29) "History of Orissa", part I, pp. 93, by R. D. Banerjee.

(30) The sun being very hot in south India, the people are generally black in colour.

(31) Ibid, pp. 94.

(32) Pp. 185, f. n. no. 14 above.

(33) We do not know definitely the reason why he got erected such a costly palace at this place.

rules pertaining to it. At last in the 14th year of his reign, he retired altogether from active worldly life and devoted the remaining years of his life to religious contemplation.

That he was a staunch Jain, is now an indisputable fact. Prof. Jal Carpentier[34] says:—"Why should he have chosen so strange an object if he had not been a believer in the Jina?" The "object" in question is the Jaina idol for recovering which he led an expedition to Magadh and forced Bṛhaspatimitra to fall at his feet. We have given above enough quotations to show that the merchants of Khãrvel had trade-relations upto the Persian Gulf in the west and upto the islands of Jãvã and Sumãtrã in the east. These merchants seem to have settled in these foreign lands. They must have founded their own colonies and trading centres there. They themselves being Jains, they must have tried to spread Jaina culture in these foreign lands.

One Indian scholar has studied this problem in details; a perusal of his book, however, gives the impression that he has not been able to arrive at any definite conclusion about the religion of the first settlers in the eastern islands. His first difficulty in this connection is[35]:—"Trikaling cannot be proved to have existed in the first century B. C or A. D." This means that the term "Trikaling" came into existence much later than the 1st century A. D. Hence, there can arise no question of any settlers having gone to these Islands from Trikaling before that time. So, the first settlers there could not have been subjects of Khãrvel, who flourished in the 4th century B. C. according to us, and in the 2nd century B. C. according to them. His second difficulty is[36]:—"The question of the religion of the original colonists to further India and the Indian Archipelago is still the subject of a very great controversy...Results of the excavations prove that earliest Indian colonists were Hindus i. e. Brahminical faith, then Buddhism, while Jainism does not appear at all." Thus, there is a contradiction

(34) I. A. 194, pp. 173.

(35) "History of Orissa", Vol. I, pp. 95.

(36) Ibid, pp. 96.

between these two points. In the first, he states that the term "Trikaling" is of much later origin than the 1st century A. D., and hence the "Talaing"[37] people, who settled in these colonies must have first settled there much later than the 1st century A. D. In his second point he states that the excavations prove the existence of Indian culture in these islands latest in the 2nd century A. D. and earliest in the 2nd century B. C. A solution to this difficulty is the acceptance of the existence of the term Trikaling in the 2nd century B. C. at the earliest and in 2nd century A. D. at the latest. Let us see, whether we have any evidence to support this theory. Pages 97 to 107 of his book reveal that he has made a great effort to arrive at a solution of this problem. His attempt, however, does not seem to have met with much success. He states the common opinion of most scholars in the following words[38]:—"They (the majority of Indian and European scholars) therefore look upon Indo-nesia as being colonized by Āryans two centuries before or after the birth of Christ." The term "Āryan" here means those people who were influenced by the Āryan culture. It should not be taken to mean "Vedic" culture. We have proved while giving the account of Khārvel's life that his merchants, who were Jains, had not only trade-relations with these islands, but that most of them settled for good in these islands and spread the Jaina gospel there. They must have passed through Burmā, where also some of them settled. This emigration must then have taken place in the 4th century B. C.

We have given above sufficient evidence to prove that the first settlers in these islands were Jains. The writer of the book, however, seems to believe otherwise. Even he, however, states[39] in connection with the idols excavated:—"One peculiar feature of these statues is disproportionate size of the ears, which we find in Jaina and Buddhistic images of India from the Gupta period

(37) Ibid, pp. 95:—"It is now universally acknowledged that the Talaing people of Burma though of Mon origin, obtained their name from "Tri-kaling".

(38) Ibid, pp. 105.

(39) "History of Orissa", Vol. I, pp. 99.

downwards." This excludes all possibility of the Vedic culture having existed there. Some years ago, a lecture on these islands was delivered under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. Nāg, a Bengali scholar, who had at the time, just returned from a visit to these islands. He stated very clearly that the ancient culture there was Buddhist in origin, not Vedic. In short, we now come to the conclusion that the first settlers in these islands vere Jains. They were the subjects of Khārvel and had settled there for ever for trade purposes in the 4th century B. C. These emigrants were called "Tailang" and had passed through Burmā, where also some of them settled. Later on, the Buddhist settlers may also have gone there; but here we should remember that most of the scholars are not very clear in their minds about the specific differences of Buddhism and Jainism, and have therefore ascribed most of the Jaina things to Buddhism, just because they happened to have made a through study of Buddhist sources and almost none at all of Jaina sources. The same lack of knowledge has made them identify Prīyadarśin with Aśok, as we have already seen.

Priyadarśin & Khārvel ; a comparison

Both were staunch followers of Jainism. Both built numerous temples, stūpas, pillars and edicts for religious purposes. Both got numerous and very costly idols prepared and gave large sums of money in charity, fixed annuities for worshippers at temples in order to ensure continuity of religious ceremonies, and followed a policy of broad-minded tolerance towards followers of other religions. Both were valorous in wars and generous in their treatment of the vanquished. They were not greedy of acquiring land. This is all the more creditable of Priyadarśin, because he resisted the temptation strongly though the greed for the acquisition of land was a common characteristic of all the kings of his time, while in Khārvel's times, kings were unacquainted with this desire. Both ardently desired the spread of Jainism and helped in every way the merchants, who had trade-relations with foreign countries, because they could see the possibility of spreading Jainism in those countries through these merchants, who came into direct contact

with the foreigners. They inculcated a sort of religious zeal in these merchants, who many a time acted as conscious or unconscious missionaries. Priyadarśin made greater efforts in this direction. He had organized a department for this purpose and sent preachers to distant countries like Asian Turkey, Syriā and others. He had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of these countries in order to facilitate the work of these preachers. So far as works of public welfare are concerned, the extension of the canal is the only thing that goes to the credit of Khārvel. Priyadarśin, on the other hand, got fine roads built, trees planted and wells dug and also built resting places for travellers and for beasts of burden. He also built hospitals both for men and for animals. In short, Priyadarśin was an all rounder, looking into every detail with a resourceful imagination, and endeavouring to make his subjects materially, intellectually and spiritually happy. As regards the extent of territory, Khārvel's kingdom was just one-third of Priyadarśin's empire. In Priyadarśin there was a happy combination of intellectual and spiritual faculties. Khārvel's life, on the other hand, was preponderated by religious zeal.

The difference, however, is that of degree and not of kind. Priyadarśin is, in many ways, a larger edition of Khārvel. In one point, however, Khārvel deserves greater credit than Priyadarśin. The latter, though not actuated by the desire of commemorating his name, did get his name inscribed on his inscriptions. Khārvel never did so. Both had taken the vow of an Upāsak. But Khārvel advanced further and completely retired from active political life during the 14th year of his rule. Priyadarśin's spiritual progress did not reach that stage. Khārvel, in the third place, made a great effort for the preservation of books. Priyadarśin has no such effort to his credit. Of course, this does not mean that Priyadarśin's love for religious books was less than that of Khārvel. There may not have risen an occasion for that.

He succeeded Khārvel in A. M. 134 and ruled upto 155 A. M. (B. C. 393 to 372=21 years). He was born of the Vajradhara queen in 105 A. M. in the seventh[40] year of Khārvel's reign.

(40) Line 7, Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(B. C. 422). This means that he was 30[41] when he ascended the throne. He died at the age of 51 after ruling for 21 years.

(4) VAKRAGRĪV PARVETŚVAR

In the account of Chandragupta we have already stated how he (Chandragupta) first founded a small kingdom in a hilly region in 381 B. C., and how, after defeating Nand IX, he became the emperor of Magadh in 372 B. C. In the play named Mudrārākṣas, mention is made of king named Parvateśvar, who was the master of these hilly regions. Chandragupta, later on, had to fight against Malayaketu, the son and successor of this Parvateśvar. In the same play, it is mentioned that a man named Rakṣas succeeded Chāṇakya as the prime-minister of Chandragupta. I am not very clear[42] about the sources, from which I derived the names "Vakragrīv" and " Makaradhvaj ". But we may identify Vakragrīv with Parvateśvar, whose name is mentioned in the Mudrārākṣas, and Malayaketu with Makaradhvaj whose name also is mentioned in the same play. It has also been said, that when Malayaketu fought against Chandragupta, he had with him his uncle Vairochan or Vairochak, whom thus we accept as the brother of Vakragrīv and the second son of Khārvel. No details are available about him.

Little is known about Vakragrīv's rule. He must have been a licentious and pleasure-loving king, as is well indicated by his sudden death. We know that Khārvel had inflicted a crushing defeat on Śrimukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty, that the Āndhra kings had submitted to the suzerainty of Khārvel[43] and that they were thenceforth called Āndhrabhṛtyas[44]. Their coins

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(41) It will now be clear that the theory, that 25 was the proper age for coronation is ill-founded. (Pp. 133 above).

(42) I had some pieces of evidence; but they have been either misplaced or lost.

(43) They were under the vassalage of Khārvel and his successor. Then, they asserted their independence and wiped off the humiliating term "Āndhrabhṛtyas". Later on, they had to accept the suzerainty of the Magadha kings. But then, they were not called Āndhrabhṛtyas.

(44) Śrīmukh might have had to accept the humiliating position of "Āndhrabhṛtya". If so, his successors became independent.

indicate that they had become independent during the weak rule of Vakragrīv. (Vide their account given later on). They had also conquered some territory from the Kalinga kingdom thus narrowing its boundaries.

When Vakragrīv ascended the throne, he inherited the Tri-kaling kingdom consisting of Anga, Vamśa and Kaling. Of these, Anga has also been known by the name Chedi. A part of this country, which was farthest from the capital, was very hilly. Chandragupta founded his small independent kingdom there in 381 B. C., taking advantage of the weak rule of Vakragrīv.[45] Chandragupta then wanted to have an army strong enough to defeat Nand IX. So his talented adviser and minister, Chāṇakya made an offer to Vakragrīv to the effect that if he helped Chandragupta against Nand IX, he would be given half the share of the Magadha empire. Vakragrīv agreed. A fierce battle was fought, in which Nand was defeated. Chandragupta became the master of Magadh. When it came to giving half the share to Vakragrīv, Chāṇakya brought in the assembly a beautiful poison-girl, fully knowing the licentious nature of Vakragrīv. No sooner did Vakragrīv see her, than he said that he would give up his share in the Magadha empire, if that girl was given to him in marriage. The offer was accepted. Preparations were begun for the marriage ceremony. While the ceremony was being performed, and while Vakragrīv held the hand of the girl in his own, her poison had an instantaneous effect on him and he fell dead on the ground.

We do not know why his name was "Vakragrīv." Was his neck crooked ?

(5) MALAYAKETU, MAKARADHVAJ, MAYURADHVAJ

Various rumours were afloat about Vakragrīv's death in Magadh. It was in such circumstances that Malayaketu ascended the throne. Finding that his father's death had taken place in Magadh in suspecious circumstances, he decided to invade Magadh. We know however that the Kalinga kingdom had been much reduced and weakened during Vakragrīv's rule. Chandragupta had already

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(45) Details are given in the account of Chandragupta.

snatched a part of Anga, in order to found his small empire. The second Āndhra king, Gautamiputra Yagñaśri and the third Āndhra king had also taken big bites from the Kalinga kingdom. Cholās, Pallavas and Paṇḍyās had either become independent or had been subdued by the Āndhra kings. Thus, when Malayaketu ascended the throne, the Kalinga kingdom had been reduced to a small territory. Even then, he decided to invade Magadh and fight against a powerful king like Chandragupta. A battle took place, the result of which was that Malayaketu was defeated and was probably killed. Or, if he lived at all, he led a very humiliating life perhaps as a vassal king of Chandragupta, He died in about 361 B. C. and thus, the Chedi dynasty came to an end. Magesthenes makes no mention of Chedi dynasty in his memoirs, though he does mention the Āndhra dynasty. This shows, that the Chedi dynasty had ended before his arrival in India.[46]

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(46) Now, the readers will be convinced that Khārvel was not a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.

Appendix

In this appendix, it is my intention to deal with certain points connected with the Chedi dynasty and the Hāthigumfā inscription. These points were not touched upon in the preceding chapters because they could not be relevantly included in them.

We have convincingly proved in the foregoing pages that Khārvel was a follower of Jainism. Now, religion is a matter of soul. Hence, it can be powerful only in those countries, in which spiritualism is considered of more importance than mere physical comforts. We know that ancient India was pre-eminently spiritual in outlook. Hence, religion had an all-embracing effect upon the lives of people in those times. That country would indeed be happy, in which both the soul and the body are properly cared for. In other words, there ought to be a sort of balance between spiritual concerns and material ones. Once this balance[1] is disturbed the whole society is disturbed. In ancient India, a political change often coincided with a religious one. There were, however, kings whose policy towards followers of religions, other than their own, was highly liberal. The policy of the Britishers in India is that of—as if it were—slow poisoning. They have never openly declared that western civilization is the best of all, but they have engrafted it upon us, by having perfect control over education of the country. Now, the western civilization is essentially material. Hence that materialism, that cynicism, that spirit of irreverence is slowly creeping into Indian life and is sapping the foundations at the very root.

During the times with which we are connected in this volume, there were three religions in India. At various times, during those one thousand years (900 B. C. to 100 A. D.) one or the other of them was in the ascendant. A historian's duty is to tell the truth, irrespective of his personal faith and beliefs. An attempt of that kind has been made in the foregoing pages.

(1) Religion at present means mechanical performance of certain rites.

Let us take an example or two. Pillars[2] have been erected in the Nāsik caves, both by Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ and by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the son of that famous queen Balaśree. A lion and a bull are found at the top of these pillars. We need not concern ourselves here with details about the architecture of the pillars. (For details vide pp. 185 of "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" Part I, by Fergusson). Scholars are of the opinion that both these pillars are connected with Buddhism. Of late, however, these scholars have been convinced that Nahapāṇ was a Jain. But they firmly believe that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, and all other kings of the Śātavahana dynasty, bearing the title Śātakarṇi were followers of the Vedic religion. Now, what is the idea of saying that the pillar erected by Gautamiputra is connected with Buddhism on the one hand and that he himself was a follower of the Vedic religion on the other? We have proved in the account of the Kṣharāṭa dynasty that they were all Jains. (Vol. III, pp. 200 & further). Śrimukh, the founder of the Śātavahana dynasty, and most of his descendants were Jains (except the intervening 2 or 3) upto 78 A. D., when a certain king accepted the Vedic religion and started the Śaka era. The coins of king Gautamiputra also indicate that he was a Jain (Vol. II, Coins nos, 75 and 76). He also performed Jaina religious rites on Mt. Śatrunjay, together with Śakāri Vikramāditya (Vide his account). We shall give enough proofs, when we come to the account of his dynasty. In short, both Nahapāṇ and Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi were followers of Jainism and the lion and the bull are Jaina symbols.[3]

Let us take another instance. Both Sankisā and Tirhut pillars are declared to be connected with Buddhism by scholars. (For illustrations, see the plates at the end). Of these, the Tirhut

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(2) They are called "Nahapāṇa pillar" and "Gautamīputra pillar" respectively. Nahapāṇa pillar is found in cave no. 8, and Gautamīputra pillar in cave no. 3 at Nāsik.

(3) The Lion is the sign of Mahāvīr, the last Jaina Tīrthanker. The Bull is the sign of Ṛṣabhadev, the first Jaina Tīrthanker. These signs, it seems to me, have no connection with Buddhism.

pillar was erected by Priyadarśin. It has a lion on the top. We have proved that Priyadarśin was a Jain and that he had erected the pillar there, in commemoration of a certain event in Mahāvīr's[4] life. We know that the lion is the sign of Mahāvīr. At the top of the Sankisā Pillar, there is an elephant whose head has disappeared. Scholars believed that the headless body represented the lion.[5] But now that misapprehension is gone. We know that the elephant is also a Jaina sign[6]. Hence, both the pillars are connected with Jainism.

We take a third instance. In one of the plates at the end of this volume, are two pictures[7] representing foot-prints. They are found near the Amarāvatī stūpa. It is not far from truth to say that they are parts of the stūpa.[8] It has been proved on the authority of the Hāthigumfā inscription that the Amarāvatī stūpa is the same as the "Mahāvijay" palace built by Khārvel. We have also proved in Vol. I, pp. 148 that at this place there flourished a large and prosperous city named Bennātaṭnagar in about B. C. 580. It was largely populated by rich Jaina merchants. It was probably destroyed[9] in about 1st century B. C. All these details prove that the foot-prints are connected with Jainism and not with Buddhism.

In connection with this, a scholar like Mr. James Fergusson says[10]:—" As repeatedly mentioned, there is as little trace of any image of Buddha or Buddhist figure, being set up for worship, much before the Christian era." This excludes any possibility of Buddhist idols before or just near to the beginning of the Christian era.

(4) Details will be given in "Life of Priyadarśin" to be published later.

(5) "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture", vol. I, pp. 58:—"The shaft is surmounted by an elephant but so mutilated that even in the 7th century, the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang mistook it for a lion".

(6) The Elephant is the sign of the second Jaina Tīrthanker.

(7) H. I. E. A. Vol. I, pp. 223 and 49, by Mr. James Fergusson.

(8) Mr. Fergusson says:—"From bas-relief at Amarāvatī".

(9) For details vide pp. 159 and sequel.

(10) H. I. E. A. Vol. I, pp. 122.

Hence, all the pillars mentioned above (Nahapāṇa, Gautamiputra, Sankisā and Tirhuta) cannot have any connection with Buddhism. Another famous scholar[11] has said in connection with Bhārhuta stūpa, (which most scholars believe to be connected with Buddhism):—" As usual, the Buddha himself is not delineated at the Bharhuta Stupa. " This distinctly means that the Bhārhuta pillar has no connection with Buddhism.

We shall close with two more instances, (for illustrations, see the plates at the end) which represent idols of Pārśvanāth the 23rd Tīrthanker of the Jains. It is significant to note that both the idols have been found out from the excavations of Bennātaṭnagar[12], the place of Mahāvijay-palace or the Amarāvatī stūpa.

In short, we have proved above that many idols and other relics of the past, which are believed to be connected with Buddhism, have in reality nothing to do with it. A scholar[13] says:—"There is no trace of images in the Vedas or in the laws of Manu or any of the older books of Hindus". This shows that idolatry was conspicuous by its absence in the Vedic religion of those times. Idolatry in fact began in the 4th century A. D. among the followers of the Vedic religion. In the same century, the Purāṇas also were composed. This proves also that the idols at Jagannāth, which are very ancient, have no connection either with Buddhism or with the Vedic religion.

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(11) B. I. pp. 15.

(12) A. S. R. I. pp. 15. Read the details about the Amarāvatī Stūpa there. Vol. I, pp. 148 and sequel; pp. 159-61 of this volume.

(13) H. I. E. A. Vol. I, pp. 122.

Part II

PART II

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY



Chapter I

The Śatavahana dynasty

Synopsis:—*The seven different names of the Āndhra kings. (1) The first name is Andhra—(2) The second is Āndhra—The term Andhra denotes a region; but the boundaries of that region are uncertain—The term Āndhra denotes a people. So the dynasty may more properly be called Āndhra—Proofs in support of this.*

(3) Śata=100; these kings were called Śāta, because the dynasty began in the year 100—Proofs in support of this—To which era does this no. 100 belong?—The indication of the religion of these kings from that—(4) Śātavahan, Satavahan, Śātavāhan and Śatavāhan:—Of these, the terms Śata and Śāta have been explained just above—A detailed discussion about the propriety of Vahan or Vāhan—(5) Śatakarṇi and Śātakarṇi; in both these terms, the first parts are Śata and Śāta, which have already been explained above—Now, which is more appropriate; Karaṇi or Karṇi?—What must have been the correct word?—(6) Śālivāhan, Śālavāhan and Śālavān—Can these terms be applied to all the kings of this dynasty or to only one of them?—(7) Āndhrabhṛtya or Andhrabhṛtya—Can this term be applied to the whole dynasty or only to a part of it?—Difference between the meanings of Śungabhṛtya and Āndhrabhṛtya.

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY

* * *

ITS SEVEN DIFFERENT NAMES

This dynasty has been given seven different names by different historians. These names are:—(1) Andhra; (2) Āndhra; (3) Śāta or Śata; (4) Śātavāhan, Sātavahan Śatavahan or Śatavāhan; (5) Śālivāhan, Śālavāhan or Śālavahan or Śālvān. (6) Śatakarṇi or Śātakarṇi; (7) Āndhrabhṛtya or Andhrabhṛtya.

We discuss the propriety of each of these terms below.

(1) ĀNDHRA

This term has to be differentiated from Andhra[1]. With reference to Āndhra, Mr. Vincent Smith[2] says:—"Andhra nation, a Dravidian people[3] now represented by the large population, speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna on the eastern side of India and was reputed to possess a military force, second only to that at the command of the Prasii Chandragupta Maurya[4]". This indicates that the term "Āndhra" is the name of a nation. Dr. Rapson[5] says the same thing:—"The earliest mention of the Andhra[6] seems to occur in a passage of Aiterriya Brahaman (B. C. 500 composition date roughly) in which they are enumerated among the tribes of south India. Their home then, as in later times, was no doubt the Telugu country[7]

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(1) See the details about "Andhra" given later on.

(2) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 206.

(3) He has given no piece of evidence in support of his statement.

(4) The fact that the Āndhra were second in power, during the time of Chandragupta (Sandrecottus ?), proves that the Āndhras flourished before the time of Chandragupta (Sandrecottus ?). This also proves that Śrimukh, the founder of the dynasty lived much before the time of Chandragupta. It is a proved fact, that Puṣyamitra lived much later than Chandragupta. On what grounds, then, do the scholars fix up Śrīmukh and Puṣyamitra as contemporaries ? (Vide the account of Khārvel).

(5) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 15.

(6) In Yugapurāṇ these kings are called Śāta. (Vol. III, pp. 350, Quotations from Buddhiprakāś).

(7) The writer has not given any piece of evidence in support of his statement. [Note:—European scholars have often made statements in support of which they have not given any piece of evidence].

on the eastern side of India, between the rivers Krishna and Godavari". Later on in the same book[8] Dr. Rapson states:— "Andhra Desh or the country of the Andhras is a Sanskrit name for the Telugu country, lying between the rivers Krishna and Godavari". In B.C. 500, when the Aiterriya Brāhman was composed, "Āndhra" was the name of a nation according to Dr. Rapson. There is no mention of "Andhra" as the name of a country upto that time. How did then it come to be that "Andhra" was also taken as the name of a country?

Mr. Rapson has stated that the Aiterriya Brāhamaṇ was composed in about 500 B. C. This means that upto that time "Āndhra" denoted the name of a nation only. In vol. I, we have given the names of 25 countries that existed in India in almost the same time. There also we find no mention of "Andhra". It follows from that, writers of all the three religions, namely Buddhism, Jainism and the Vedic religion, were unacquainted with this name. In the list of 80 countries given by Huen-Tsāng, we do find the mention of "Andhra" (vol. I, pp. 53). Hence the name must have come into existence sometimes between 500 B. C. and 600 A. D. Probably that region must have been called "Andhra" in which the "Āndhras" settled for good.

Let us also look to evidence that we can derive from coins and inscriptions in this matter. The main inscriptions concerned are those of Nāsik, Nānāghāt, Junner, Kanherī and of Hāthigumfā. All these inscriptions and all the available coins of the Āndhras contain no mention of "Andhra" or "Āndhra" or of "Āndhrabhṛtya" or of "Āndhrapati." The titles mainly assumed by these kings are "Sata", "Sāta" or Śatavahan or Śātavāhan[9] or Sātakarṇi[10]. In Hāthigumfā inscription also we find the name "Sātakarṇi"[11]. The dynasty ended in the 3rd century A. D. Upto that time no king of the dynasty seems to have been called "Andhrapati" or Andhrabhṛtya." This

(8) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 71.

(9) More details about this are given later on.

(10) F. n. no. 9 above.

(11) Read the chapter on Hāthīgumfā inscription. Line no. 5.

means that Andhra as the name of a country must have come into existenee sometime between the third and the sixth centuries A. D., wnen Huen-Tsāng visited India and mentioned the name in his list.

According to historians "Andhra" denotes the region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. Now, this region was not always under the power of the Āndhras. Sometimes, it was under the rule of Khārvel, sometimes under the rule of the Chaṣṭhaṇas. The term "Andhrapati" may therefore have meant the ruler of the people named "Āndhras". It should be noted, however, that neither Khārvel nor the Chaṣṭhaṇas, who had this region under their power, were called, or called themselves "Andhrapati." This makes it clear, that the Andhra-deś had little connection with the Āndhra people, according to historians of the olden times. It seems that later on these names were confused with each other. Thus, we have seen that politically speaking, Andhra-deś has little connection with the Āndhra people.

Dr. Rapson has, however suggested that Andhra was the name of that region, in which the people of that name settled. We now turn to the examination of this point. Dr. Rapson has stated on the authority of Aiterriya Brāhmaṇ, that the region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī was the one, where the Āndhra settled for all time to come. It seems, however, that other scholars do not agree with him. Dr. V. S. Sukhthanker[12] says:—"Their original home was in Bellari district". In "Analysis of the Bhāṇḍārker's Institute, vol. I, pp. 22, in an article entitled "On the home of the so-called Andhra kings", the same view is stated. In another[13] book also it is stated:—"Their original home was not Andhradesa......They did not hail from the east[14]. In the version of the origin of the dynasty given in Kathāsaritsāgar, the founder of the dynasty is said to have been born at Paithan; even the language of their inscriptions is some kind of proto-Maharastri

(12) C. H. I. pp. 598.

(13) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, pp. 45 and further.

(14) Ibid, pp. 49.

with no affinity with the Telugu, the language of the Andhras." Then the same writer states:—"These facts fully justify the conclusion that Satavahans were not Andhras[15]". In short the Andhradeś cannot be considered as the home of the Āndhra people. We shall give proofs, in support of this conclusion later on.

So, from both the points of view,—political as well as that of colonization,—we have shown that Andhra-deś has no connection with the Āndhra people. Details will be given in chapter III. We shall prove later on, that the home of the Āndhra people was altogether in another country[16].

(2) ANDHRA

We have already stated that this term denotes the name of a country. Dr. Bhāṇḍārker[17] states in this connection:—"It must have at the early period comprised Jaipur and part of Vizagapaṭam district of the Madras Presidency, along with some conterminous districts of Central Provinces; and it is not at all impossible, that it may have also included the southern parts of the Nizam's dominions and the Kistna and Godavari districts, corresponding to modern Teligana[18]". The author has simply expressed his opinion. He has not given any evidence in support of it. It seems that these boundaries of Andhra have been fixed by him, while keeping an eye on the territorial extent of Śrimukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. We know, however, on the authority of the Hāthīgumfā inscription that the major part of the territory lying within the bounds stated above was conquered by Khārvel from Śrimukh. Hence, we come to the conclusion that the boundaries stated above are not correct, either from the view point of the place of origin or from the political view-point. A scholar[19] says:—"The mere mention of certain kings in the Puranas as Andhras and their identity with the names of the Satavahana kings as given

(15) Cf. further "(4) Satavahans".

(16) Vol. I. Accounts of Nand I and Nand IX.

(17) Bh. A. pp. 34.

(18) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, pp. 49.

(19) See further under "(4) Satavahans".

in their epigraphic records cannot justify an inference that the Satavahanas were originally rulers of the Andhra-desa".

At one time, I inclined to the view that the region called Daṇḍakāraṇya in Mahābhārat, formed a part of Andhra-deś, the boundaries of which were fixed by me as follows:—"The Sātpuḍā ranges on the north, the Tungabhadrā on the south, the Sahyādri ranges on the west, and a straight line joining the city of Chandā in Hydrabad to the city of Kaḍappā on the east. These boundaries not only include the delta between the Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī, but also include much more to the west of that region. This region was so full of dense forests that the rays of the sun hardly reached the land. Hence, it may have been called "Andha" or "dark" country, which later on may have been changed to "Andhra". Later research work, however, revealed to me that Andhra-deś has no relation with the Āndhra people and that no term like "Andhra-deś" existed during the Mahābhārat period. Hence, I had to give up the theory.

Dr. Bulher[20] states:—"The place-names in Ganjam and Vijianagaram districts are to be regarded as Andhra colonies of East Daccan". This opinion, we may note, has points of similarity with the view of Dr. Bhāṇḍārker, which is stated above.

In the Sanskṛt-English dictionary compiled by Mr. Williams the term "Andhra" has been defined as follows[21]:—"The name of people (probably modern Telangana); name of dynasty; a man of low caste; (The off-spring of a Vaideha father and Karwar mother, who lives by killing game)". This makes it clear that the term does not denote a country.

We have quoted many scholars above. We see that they

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(20) My opinion on this point will be given later on. See the paragraph "Origin of the Āndhras".

(21) Vide vol. III, pp. 350. (An extract has been quoted there from G. V. S. Buddhiprakāś, 1928, vol. 76, pp. 98. Some of the words are:—"Then that covetous, miserly and very powerful king, hankering after the conquest of the land of king Shata of Kaling......" Vide also J. A. H, R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 5-6.

hold different opinions. The reader will, however, see one thing clearly, and that is that the terms "Andhra" and "Āndhra" do not denote the same thing. We have not yet been able to locate the position of Andhra-deś; neither have we been able to fix up the place of the origin of the Āndhras. That is the reason why they have been treated as separate terms.

(3) ŚĀTA AND ŚATA

Śata is a Sanskrt word and means "hundred". According to Sanskṛt rules of derivation, "Śāta" means one belonging to the family of "Śata". In the account of the Gardabhila dynasty we have stated that the Śakas defeated king Gāndharvasen of Ujjain and established their rule there. The last Śaka king, after being defeated by Vikramāditya, waged a war against the Śāta king in the south[22]. In this war, the Śaka king died. Ten years later the Śāta king also died. All this is stated in Yugapurāṇ which forms the end of Varāhsamhitā. This proves that in 57 B. C. these southern kings were called "Śāta", and that these kings have some connection with no. 100 (Śata).

It is stated in the Hāthīgumfā inscription that in the second year of his reign (i.e. A. M. 100[23]), Khārvel invaded the kingdom of Śrimukh and drove him back upto Muśiknagar. This invasion took place because Śrimukh, who had founded his dynasty not long ago, tried to make inroads into the territory of Khārvel[24]. This indicates that Śrimukh had founded his dynasty in A. M. 100= B. C. 427[25].

Thus we see that the dynasty was named "Śāta" because it

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(22) Vol. III, pp. 350, f. n. nos. 22 and 24.

(23) Vide ante, the accounts of Khārvel, pp. 124 and the chronology at the end of this volume for the events that took place in B. C. 429=A. M. 98.

(24) C. H. I. pp. 600:—"Khārvel in the 2nd year of his reign sent an army to the west, disregarding Sata-karni and in his fourth year humbled the Rashtrikas".

(25) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 239 and seq. (It is clear from this that the Śāta kings ruled in Paiṭhaṇ before the time of Nand IX, who ruled from A. M. 112 to 155=43 years. This shows that the Śāta kings ruled even before 112).

was founded in the year 100 (Sata). The suffixes "Vahan" and "Vāhan" which are appended to the terms "Sata" and "Sāta" need not detain us here.

(4) ŚĀTAVAHAN AND ŚATAVAHAN OR ŚĀTAVĀHAN AND ŚATAVĀHAN

The term "Śatavahan" may be interpreted as:—"One who belongs to the dynasty which was founded (i. e. began to flow from) in the year 100[26]". The term Śaṭa-vāhan means the same thing and seems to have come into existence through a scribe's error.[27] The term "Vāhan" means a conveyance. Hence, etymologically, the term "Śatavāhan" would mean "One who has one hundred vehicles". Now this is hardly true, because these kings must surely have had many more[28] than hundred conveyances. Hence "Śatavahan" is the correct term denoting the origin of the dynasty in the year 100[29]. Dr. Rapson says[30]:—"Satavahan is the term being the name of the clan to which the ruling family belonged". The term "Śatayān" also has been found to have been used elsewhere[31]. The meaning is the same as that of "Śatavahan".

Below we quote opinions of different scholars on this point.

(1) A writer says[32]:—"Thus the first name given in the Puranas, viz. Simukh or Sisuka is named in an early inscription as Simukha or Satavahano[33]".

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(26) To which era this no. 100 belongs is a different question, which we shall discuss later on. Allusions to it have been made in vol. I, pp. 372 and in the chronology of that year at the end of this volume.

(27) It is hoped that experts will shed some light on the terms "Vahan" and "Vāhan".

(28) Vol. I, pp. 234, the story of Gopāl Śresṭhi.

(29) About the misunderstanding of the meaning of the word Śātakarṇi details will be given later on.

(30) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 15, f. n. no. 1.

(31) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 149, where the story or Kālikāchārya is given.

(32) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 61 and sequel.

(33) In C. H. I. pp. 598, it is stated that the inscription does not contain the word Śatavahan. (One of the scholars must have committed the mistake).

(2) In the inscription by queen Balaśrī, the mother of Gautamīputra, the following phrase is found:—"Restored the glory of Saṭayahaṇaṣ".

(3) Another scholar[34] says:—"Sātakarṇi ruled in the south during the time of Khārvel. In the inscriptions we find that the name of his dynasty is Sātavāhan. It is called "Śalavāhan" in Sanskṛt & Prākṛt books. The first inscription of Śātavāhan is found in the region of Nāsik and has the script which denotes the date as B. C. 200".

(4) It is stated elsewhere[35]:—"Satavahan was afterwards installed as king and Pratishthanpur became a rich city—(pp. 138). The Sātavāhana mentioned by the Bṛhatkathā must have been a contemporary with Nanda[36]."

(5) It is stated elsewhere[37]:—"Majority of the inscriptions are found at Nasik; their earliest inscription at Nānāghāṭ in western India, their earliest coin in west India; they are referred to all along in the epigraphic records, not as Andhraṣ but as Sātavāhanas".

(6) In C. H. I. pp. 131, it is stated:—"The earliest known coin bears the name of a king Sata, who is probably to be identified with Ṣatakarni".

(7) We have stated above that Dr. Rapson is of the opinion that Śatavahan is the name of a race. At another place[38] he seems to think otherwise:—"The later members of the Shatavahana dynasty continued to rule over the eastern provinces", i. e. here he believes that the term denotes the name of a dynasty.

(8) Another writer states[39]:—"Shatavahan became a family

(34) Vide Jaina Sāhitya Sanśodhak, Vol. III, part IV, pp. 373.

(35) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, pp. 132. (The article by Dr. Bhāu Dājī).

(36) This makes it clear that the Śātavāhana kings flourished even during the time of Nanda Rājās. (This is one more proof against the theory that Śrimukh, the founder of the dynasty, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty. Evidently, Khārvel who was a contemporary of Śrimukh, could not have been a contemporary of Puṣyamitra).

(37) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, pp. 49.

(38) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 42, para 52–53.

(39) J. B. B. R. A. S. New Series, Vol. III, pp. 52.

name afterwards". This means that the dynasty bore another name formerly.

(9) Mr. Vincent Smith[40] states:-"The Andhra kings all claimed to belong to the Satavahana family and many of them assumed the title or bore the name of Satkarni". This means that all the Āndhra kings were called Śātavahanas, and most of them were also called "Śātakarṇi".

(10-11-12) In a book named Abhidhān-chintāmaṇi the term "Śātavahan" is defined as follows:—"One who enjoys the facility of conveyances". The author of Kalpapradip interprets the term as follows:—" The root Sanu, meaning charity, these kings are called Śātavāhans". These two extracts make it clear that the term "Śātavāhan does not owe its origin to any special occasion". The author of Kathāsaritsāgar says:—"He was called "Sātavāhan" because he was lifted by a Yakṣa named "Śāta".

(13) In the translation of "Prabandha-chintāmaṇi" pp. 37, it is stated:—"Śālivāhan lived in the house of a potter and made toys representing horses, elephants and men. So he was called "Śātavāhan". According to this, only "Śālivāhan" can be called the "Śātavāhan". We have seen above that in many inscriptions, many kings of this dynasty have been called "Śātavāhanas". Hence this view is not tenable.

In short, the extracts quoted above, however varied they may be in particular points, lead us to the conclusion that the dynasty was called "Śatavahan" or "Śātavahan" and that "Vāhan" is an incorrect term[41].

(5) ŚATAKARṆI OR ŚĀTAKARṆI

The term " Śatakarṇi " is made of two words " Śata" (hundred) and " Karṇi." If we take " Karaṇi " in the sense of " doer, " the

(40) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 208.

(41) "Jaina Yuga", V. S. 1985. March-April number. Read there in the article entitled "Jainism in South India".

"Buddhiprakāś, vol. 82, 1934 A. D. First number. Read there the article on "Kṣatrapas" by D. C. Munśī. He has mentioned the word "Śatavahano" therein. Cf. the matter concerning f. n. no. 33 above.

term would mean:—" A person who has performed one hundred acts;" roughly taking "hundred" might mean " about hundred." Looking to the accounts of the lives of these kings, however, there was none, who performed any large number of deeds–perhaps notables—in order to deserve this title. Another appellation in vogue is " Śatakarṇi." The word " Karṇa " means "ear". So the word would mean:—" One who has hundred ears"[42], in the sense of the man having a large number of spies. Dr. V. S. Sukhathanker[43] in his " Analysis of the Bhandarker Institute" says in article entitle:—" On the Homes of the so-called Andhras":— " One having hundred ears, meaning a king who has a hundred spies to work for him." Another writer[44] has stated in connection with a king of Magadh, " A certain Chera king paid a friendly visit to the king of Magadh. It gives the name of the Magadha king on the banks of the Ganges as (certain Tamil words) which would mean "Hundred Karnas" and it was a translation of the Sanskrit title of Satakarni. Sanskrit scholars have however misread the name of Sātakarni instead of Satakarni, the epithet evidently meaning "a king who employed hundred spies "or had one hundred sources of information." Here again, the difficulty is the same. No king of the dynasty seems to have engaged one hundred spies for gathering information. Hence, we come to the conclusion that the term Śatakaraṇi or (karṇi) cannot be etymologically interpreted.

If we take "Śatakarṇi" as a common appendage to all the names of the dynasty, there would also be some difficulty there. Only a few kings, however, have appended this title with their names in their rock-inscriptions. Hence, the best solution would be that "Śatakarṇi" was a special epithet adopted by some kings of the dynasty. Mr. Vincent Smith says[45] in this connection:–"The Andhra kings all claimed to belong to the Satavahan family and

(42) Cf. the legend of Rāvaṇ having ten heads.

(43) Ibid, pp. 21 and further.

(44) J. S. I. pp. 120.

(45) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 208.

many of them assumed the title or bore the name of Satakarni. They are consequently referred to by one or other of these designations without mention of the personal name of the monarch etc." This means that "Śatavahan" is a family name, while "Śatakarṇi" is a special epithet assumed by certain kings of the dynasty. The author of J. B. B. R. A. S.[46] states:—"It is wrong to suppose that Satakarni was a family name like Sātavahana[47]. The name Satakarṇi was assumed by some kings of the dynasty." On pp. 598, Vol. I, of C. H. I. it is stated, "Following forms are found in various inscriptions, Sātakani, Satakani, Sadakarni, Sāta, Sata and Sati." This list does not include the term "Śatavahan"[48], which shows that the titles enumerated in the list were special ones adopted by individual kings. So, the term "Śatavahan" must be the family title common to all the kings.[49] Neither coins nor inscription bear the term "Śatavahan"; but they do bear "Śatakarṇi" and its variations noted above. Hence, the only explanation for this anamoly may be that either the word is misread or it should have special meaning. To take, then, the first explanation of the probability, of the term being wrongly deciphered, we might offer the suggestion that instead of "Karaṇi" there must have been "Saraṇi." Then the whole term would mean "that which has been begun to move[50] in the year hundred." Many mistakes have been committed and are likely to be committed in deciphering ancient inscriptions. This may be one of them.

(6) ŚĀLIVĀHAN, ŚĀLAVĀHAN OR ŚĀLAVĀN

This title with all its variations is found to have been used in connection with only one king of the dynasty. As yet, it has not been possible to prepare a full and correct list of the dynasty. Mr. Pargiter has prepared a tentative list based on the Purāṇas. Looking at this list, we find that only one king named "Hāla"

(46) Ibid, 1927 number, pp. 81, f. n. no. 125.

(47) The right term is "Śatavahan".

(48) Cf. f. n. no. 27 above.

(49) Cf. f. n. no. 9 and also pp. 210 the paragraph entitled "Śatavahana".

(50) This problem requires more research work.

seems to have borne this title. It is possible that "Hāla" and "Śāla" may have been used in the same sense as the names of the same king, and that, the term "Vahan" may then have been simply appended to "Śāla" as it was applied to "Śata." We should, therefore, note it here that "Śālivāhan" and its variations are applicable to only one king of the dynasty, and that it is not the name of the dynasty.

The term "Śālivāhan" is also used to represent the era of that name. Details about this have already been given on pp. 441 & seq. Vol. III, More details will be given in the account of King Hāla.

(7) ANDHRABHṚTYA OR ĀNDHRABHṚTYA

This term may be interpreted in two ways:—(1) "An Andhra king, who is the servant of another king", or (2) "A king who is the servant of the Āndhra king." Looking to the details[51] available about these kings, we have to come to the conclusion that the first is the more correct of the two interpretations.[52]

In very old times, kings were not so greedy of land as they became later on. When a king defeated another king in a battle, he did not dethrone him and annex his kingdom to his own. But he made him acknowledge his suzerainty. Now, it may have been established in those times, that the term "Bhṛtya" was to be appended to the dynastic name of the defeated king. When any such king again asserted his independence, the term "Bhṛtya" was disconnected from his dynastic name. The coins lend support to this view[53]. The word "Śunga bhṛtya" is another instance of this.

Thus, it becomes clear that the term "Andhra-bhrtya" was used in connection with only those kings of the dynasty, who had

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(51) Read f. n. no. 52 below.

(52) It will be explained later on, in connection with the term "Andhra-bhṛtya" that the kings of this dynasty were under the vassalage of various emperors (both Nanda and Mauryan) of Magadh; but they have not been called "Bhṛtyas" of particular kings. (Vol. II, coin no. 70; f. n. no. 145).

(53) Vol. II, chapters on coins.

to accept the suzerainty of some other and more powerful king. We should note here, that Chāṇakya was the first to introduce the idea of imperialism and was to a certain extent successful in establishing an empire of that kind under the banner of Chandragupta. As time went on, kings gradually adopted the policy of dethroning defeated king and of swallowing their kingdoms. Hence, right from the time of Chandragupta to the death of Priyadarśin, the Andhra kings had "Bhṛtya" appended to their dynastic name. During this period, which ended in 290 A. M. or 237 B. C. with the death of Priyadarśin, six kings[54] succeeded one another in the dynasty and the seventh had been ruling for last so many years. Hence, all these first seven kings must have been called Andhrabhṛtyas[55]. Immediately after the death of Priyadarśin, the Āndhra kings, taking advantage of their being far from the seat of the Magadha capital, became independent. Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, was a servant of the Mauryan emperor for three decades. Hence, for 32 years, he was called "Śungabhṛtya"., upto B. C. 204 (Vol. III. pp. 463).

It was suggested to me that the term "Andhrabhṛtya" might mean " The servant of his own people. " That may show the humbleness of these kings and may indicate that they conducted the affairs of government in a democratic manner. The only objection to this suggestion is the question:—Why was the term "Bhṛtya" appended to their dynastic names by Andhra and Śunga kings only, and why not, by others as well ? " One writer says[56]:— " The Pallavas were also Andhrabhrtyas, that is the servants of the imperial throne reigning in the country by the name of Andhra". This statement requires scrutiny and attention. It is interesting to note that no Jaina book contains any mention of this term. Scholars, however, do mention that the term is found in the Purāṇas.

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(54) The number has not been definitely settled. This will be discussed later on.

(55) More details are given later on.

(56) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 65.

SUMMARY

We have discussed above the seven names connected with the dynasty. We will give a brief summary below:—

(1) Andhra indicates the name of a country, the boundaries of which have not yet been definitely settled.

(2) Āndhra denotes the name of the race. The terms "Andhra" and Āndhra having the same spellings in English, they have often been misused for one another by English-speaking scholars.

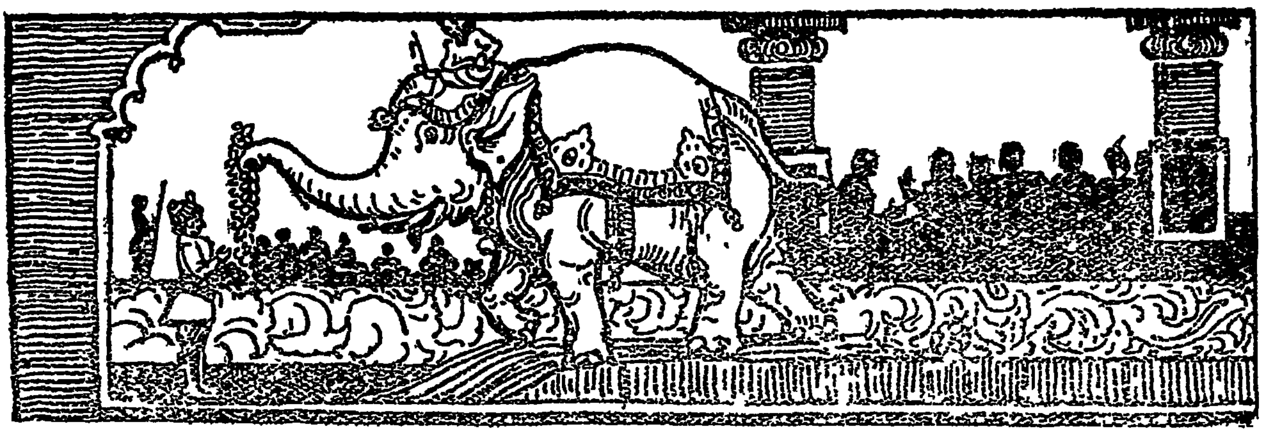
(3) "Śata" and "Śāta" are connected with the date of the beginning of the dynasty.

(4) Śatavahan etc. are also connected with the date of the beginning of the dynasty.

(5) Śatakarṇi etc. This term is connected with a few kings of the dynasty. It does not denote the dynasty as a whole.

(6) "Āndhrabhṛtya" is used in connection with those kings of the dynasty, who were under the suzerainty of other kings.

(7) "Śālivāhan" is connected with only one of the dynasty.



Chapter II

Śatavahana or Śāta dynasty (contd.)

Synopsis:—*It is a matter of regret that scholars have not been able to arrive at a definite conclusion about a dynasty, which is one of the most ancient from the view-point of power.*

An attempt is made at fixing the dates of its beginning and of its end—The number of kings in the line—Dates of each one of them—

Three divisions of these kings, viz. Andhrabhṛtyas, Andhrapatis and Śaka promulgators—A connected list of the whole dynasty.

ŚATAVAHANA OR ŚATA DYNASTY

In the foregoing pages, we have already given an account of nearly 18 to 20 dynasties. The dynasty that ruled for the shortest time is that of the Śakas of Avanti, whose rule lasted for 7½ years only. Three or four dynasties on the other hand—The Kośala, the Vatsa and the Siśunāga—ruled for nearly 330 to 340 years! The Chaṣṭhanas also ruled for almost that much time. The Śatavahana dynasty, it is interesting to note, ruled for nearly seven centuries. That duration is perhaps the longest in the history of the world, and surely the longest in India. It is, therefore, a matter of great sorrow, that scholars have not as yet been able to fix up a correct chronological list of the dynasty. Whatever details we get are available from certain inscriptions and coins, which, fortunately enough, have been excavated, & very minutely studied. Below, we have made an attempt to make out a connected chronological list of the dynasty, based on these pieces of evidence.

Its time

Scholars are unanimous about the fact that Śrimukh was the founder of the dynasty. Most of these scholars hold the theory that this Śrimukh was a contemporary[1] of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, and hence they fix up 2nd century B. C. as the time, when the dynasty was founded. Others doubt this theory[2] and say:—"With regard to the Andhras, the more certain evidence of inscriptions assigns them to a period which is in flagrant contradiction to the position which they occupy in the Purānas." This means that the date fixed on the authority of the Purāṇas is not supported by the evidence of coins and inscriptions. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is, that the information given in the Purāṇas has been

(1) A detailed discussion of this subject is given in the account of Puṣyamitra. Vol. III, and in the account of Khārvel. We have proved there, that Puṣyamitra and Śrimukh were not contemporaries. Śrimukh lived nearly 250 years before Puṣyamitra.

(2) C. H. I. pp. 522.

misconstrued. We have convincingly proved in the account of Khārvel that he was not a contemporary of Puṣyamitra and that Bṛhaspatimitra who is mentioned in the Hāthigumfā inscription, is different from this Puṣyamitra. Hence, Śrimukh, who was, on the authority of this Hāthigumfā inscription, a contemporary of Khārvel, could never have been a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, simply because Khārvel was not a contemporary of this founder of the Śunga dynasty. We have proved that Khārvel ascended the throne in 429 B. C. or 98 A. M. and that in the second year of his rule, he invaded the territory of Śrimukh, who had founded his dynasty in that very year. This proves that Śrimukh founded his dynasty in 100 A. M. or 427 B. C. We have also made it clear in the preceding chapter that the dynasty was named "Śatavahan" because it was founded in the year 100 (Śata). So, we now definitely fix up 100 A. M. as the date when the dynasty was founded.

Let us now try to find out the year of the end of the dynasty.

Mr. Pargiter in his " Dynasties of the Kali Age" pp. 36 and 71, states on the authority of the various Purāṇas, that there were thirty kings in the dynasty who ruled for 460 years. The author of C. H. I. states on pp. 388, " A dynasty of 30 kings, who ruled over Magadh[3] during a period of 460 years ". Mr. Vincent Smith, in E. H. I. pp. 212 states:–"According to Puranas the dynasty lasted for 450–56–60 years." In "Asiatic Researches Vol. IX, pp. 100, it is stated, "It lasted 456 to 458 years". Thus, These four scholars agree on the point, that the rule of dynasty lasted for nearly 460 years[4]. Mr. Pargiter has prepared a chronological list and assigned the years of rule to each king. The total of these years comes to 363 years. This subject is discussed in

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(3) We are not sure whether they ruled over Magadh for all the 460 years. We do not know on what authority the writer has said that they ruled over Magadh.

(4) Details about this will be given later on.

C. A. R. pp. 25, para 32:—"Statements contained in the Matsya-purana are remarkably in accordance with the facts as known from other sources. The Matsya gives the total period of the dynasty as 460 years and enumerated 29 kings".

J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, Vol. III, Part II; Chronology by M. Duff; and in J. B. R. S. Vol. III, pp. 246 to 262. But they have arrived at different conclusions. Thus, we find no agreement among scholars about the period, for which the rule of the dynasty lasted.

If we accept 460 years as the period for which the rule of the dynasty lasted, then the dynasty must have ended in 33 A. D., considering the fact that its rule began in 427 B. C. The evidence supplied by coins and inscriptions, on the other hand, goes to prove that the rule of the dynasty lasted for a much longer period. It is, therefore, quite possible that what has been stated in the Purāṇas about these kings, has been misconstrued by the scholars. A scholar, who has made a deep study of the history of South India[5] states:—" On the decline[6] (not the end) of Andhra dynasty about the year 302 A. D., for there is coin of a Satvahan king bearing that date." According to this scholar, therefore, the dynasty must have lasted at least upto 302 A. D., i. e. for 729 years. It is a matter of regret, however, that the scholar in question has not given any details of the coin concerned. Hence, we shall have to accept his theory with a sort of reserve. The Chaṣṭhaṇa coins tell us that Chasthan defeated the then Āndhra king in Ṣaurāṣṭra and in Gujarāt in 141–42 A. D. and from that time began the decline of the dynasty[7]. During the rules of Dāmsen and Yaśodāman, the eighth and the ninth descendants of Chaṣṭhaṇ, Iśvardatta Ābhir, their governor in the south, founded his independent dynasty named Traikuṭak in about 261[8] to 264 A. D. (Vol. III, pp. 305–312), and he drove the Andhras further in the south. It is not quite certain, however, whether Iśvardatta drove them out or whether they had to vacate Mahārāṣṭra earlier. We decide in favour of Iśverdatta, so long as we do not get a piece of evidence to the contrary. Thus Caṣṭhaṇ routed the Āndhras from Gujarāt in 143 A. D.[9], and later on, one of the governors of his dynasty, forced

(5) J. S. I. Vol. II, pp. 76.

(6) This decline hastened the end.

(7) Vide pp. 65 and also Vol. III. See the table given facing pp. 327.

(8) Read f. n. no. 11 below.

(9) If we took 143 A. D. as the year of the end of the dynasty, the

them to retreat as far as Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in 261 A. D. If we accept 261 A. D. as the date of the end of the dynasty, the period for the dynasty would come to 688 years.[10] It is stated in the Purāṇas that some of the kings were called "Āndhrabhṛtyas" and some others were called "Āndhrapates". They continued to be callad "Āndhrabhṛtyas" upto the time of Priyadarśin. The Āndhra king, who was a contemporary of Priyadarśin, died in 224 B. C. (See the list given later on). We might, therefore, consider that they were called "Āndhrabhṛtyas" upto 224 B. C., and for succeeding 460 years they were called "Āndhrapates". The total then would come to 236 A. D. We have, however, stated 261 A. D. as the furthest date[11]. This difference might be explained by the suggestion that they might have vacated Mahārāṣṭra even before the time of Iśvardatta Ābhir[11].

In short, the Śatavahana dynasty began in 100 A. M. or 427 B. C. and ended in 261 A. D. (688 years[12]). For the first 203 years, the kings of this dynasty were called Āndhrabhṛtyas and for the remaining years they were called Āndhrapates.

Their number, their names and the durations of their reigns

The first scholar to make an attempt at the chronological list of these kings is Mr. Pargiter, who has given his list, based on the authority of various Purāṇas, on pp. 36 of "Dynasties of the Kali Ages". Dr. Rapson, the author of C. A. R. and Mr. Vincent Smith have also made good attempts in this direction. I have some corrections to suggest[13] in this list. Below is given the list mostly based on Mr. Pargiter:—

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duration of the dynasty would come to 570 years. We see thus, that there is much misunderstanding about the duration of the dynasty.

(10) Read f. n. no. 9 above.

(11) A. D. 78 to 103. (The true date of the foundation of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty). The gap is just 25 years. The gap between 236 and 261 is the same.

(12) Vide f. n. no. 21 below. 661 years are stated there. Here, we come to no. 663. (688–25 as per f. n. 11=663). This difference is due to a slight miscalculation here and there. 661 is the correct number.

(13) Proofs for this have been given later on in this chapter and in the accounts of individual kings.

No.	Name	Years
1	Śrīmukh	23
2	Kṛṣṇa	10
3	Śrī Śātakarṇi (Śrī Mallik)	10
4	Pūrṇotsang	18
5	Skandh-stambhi	18
6	Śātakarṇi	56
7	Lambodar	18
8	Āpilik (Divilak)	12
9	Meghasvāti	18
10	Svāti	18
11	Skandasvāti	7
12	Mṛgendra (Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa)	3
13	Kuntal (Kuntal Śātakarṇi)	8
14	Svātikarṇa	1
15	Pulomāvi (Padumān)	36
16	Ariṣṭakarṇa	25
17	Hāl	5
18	Mantalak (Pattalak)	5
19	Purikasen (Purindrasen)	21
20	Sundar Śātakarṇi	1
21	Chakor	½
22	Śivasvāti	28
23	Gautamīputra	21
24	Pulomā	28
24	(A) Śātakarṇi	29
25	Śivaśrī (Śivaśrī Pulomā)	7
26	Śivaskandh	3
27	Yagnaśree	29
28	Vijay	6
29	Chandraśrī	10
30	Pulomān	7
		481

We shall now consider below (a) the number in the list of all kings, (b) the name of each king and (c) the duration of his reign.

Though Mr. Pargiter has given us a list of thirty kings, the list itself contains thirty-one names, if we take into consideration 24 and 24 (A). But he holds the opinion, on the authority of the Purāṇas that the kings in the line were not even thirty, but only 29.

(a) Number

Again, we must remember that the kings of this dynasty have been divided into two categories:—Āndhrabhṛtyas and Āndhrapates. It is quite possible, therefore, that the details given in the Purāṇas have been misconstrued by Mr. Pargiter. We have shown above that the rule of the dynasty lasted for 663 years. Mr. Pargiter contradicts himself by once saying that the rule of the dynasty lasted for 460 years and then by saying that it lasted for 481 years. Hence, it remains our duty to find out where Mr. Pargiter has erred and what is the true meaning of the details supplied in the Purāṇas.

We have noted that in ancient times, kings were not greedy of land. So, when they defeated a king, they did not dethrone

him, but simply made him acknowledge his suzerainty. This idea began to fade as time went on. Kings then dethroned the defeated kings and annexed their countries to their own. We should note in this connection that the Purāṇas have called all the 29 kings[14] mentioned by them Āndhrapates. This means that all of them were independent. They have also called the founder of the dynaty and some of his immediate followers "Śātakarṇes". From this we can conclude that the 29 kings[14] of the dynasty, who are called Āndhrapates and who flourished after the death of Priyadarśin, were only independent, while the former ones were under the vassalage of some other king. At the time of the death of Priyadarśin, the seventh king of the dynasty was ruling on the throne. Hence, he passed through two stages, i. e. of Āndhrabhṛtya and Āndhrapati. Most probably, the number of Āndhrabhṛtyas was somewhere between 6[15] and 10[16]. (Details about this, will be given later on). Thus, the total number of kings in the dynasty was 29 + 7 to 10 = 36 to 39.

Mr. Fitzerald Hall holds the theory that there were only 19 Āndhrapates. This can be explained in the following manner. We know it as a historical fact, that one of the kings in the Āndhra dynasty was very powerful and valorous and that he started the Śaka era. (Vol. III, pp. 444 & seq.). Hence he, from the time of starting the era and his successors, may well have been called "Śāka-promulgators or Śākas" instead of "Āndhrapates". Thus, out of the 29 Āndhrapates, the last ten may have been called "Sākas", and the first 19 Āndhrapates[17]. The 19th Āndhrapati,

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(14) No. 29 can be made up another way. Read f. n. no. 19 and the matter connected with it above.

(15) If we include Śātakarṇi in the list of Āndhrabhṛtyas, the number would come to seven. If we consider the fact that the fourth king ascended the throne twice, the number would be eight.

(16) Cf. f. n. no. 15 above and no. 18 below.

(17) Coins tell us that these kings were semi-independent upto the time of Śakāri Vikramāditya (57 B. C.). The 17th Āndhra king was on the throne at that time. It seems, however, that the Ujjaina symbol is a sign of friendliness and not of vassalage.

we may note, was for some time Āndhrapati, and was from the year of his establishing the era, Śāka. (2) We also know it on the authority of coins that in 236 A. D. a descendant of Chasṭhaṇ had defeated the Āndhra king, whose seat of capital was Paiṭhaṇ. The number of this king is somewhere between 28 to 30 in the list given above. If we deduct 19 from 29, we get the number 9. The ninth king in the list is Āpilik. Hence, it follows from this, that first nine[18] kings of the dynasty were called Āndhrabhṛtyas; the next 19 were called Āndhrapates; remaining kings of the dynasty had to vacate Paithaṇ and had to be satisfied with a small territory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Thus, the total number comes to 28; but if taken into consideration the fact, that the fourth king came to the throne twice, the total comes to 29. This is another interpretation of the theory advanced by Mr. Fitzerald[19].

Mr. Fitzerald's theory clarifies one more thing. In the list given above, it is stated that king Āpilik died in 195 B. C. We know that Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty was ruling over Avantī at that time. He had defeated the chief of Vidarbha and had married his daughter named Mālavikā. The chief of Vidarbha in question may have been Āpilik himself or a governor appointed by him, who was called Mahārathī. Thus directly or indirectly the Āndhras were under the vassalage of the Śunga kings.[20]

(18) The number of Āndhrabhṛtyas thus comes to nine. If we consider the fact of the fourth king having come to the throne twice, the number comes to ten. If we, however, accept the theory that the number of Āndhrabhṛtyas was seven, the number of the king who was defeated by the Chasṭhaṇa king was 26th and not 28th. This means that the total number would come to 26. But the period of duration remains the same, some kings will have to be allotted more years. The change will have to be instituted somewhere about the 7th king.

(19) See f. n. no. 14 above.

(20) Or they may have simply accepted the Śungas as their elders from the view-point of religion. The Āndhra kings right from the beginning, upto this time were Jains. But at this time they became converts to the Vedic religion through the preachings of Pandit Patanjali. This continued for about next 75 years. Details will be given in the accounts of the kings concerned.

This province of Vidarbha was really under the power of the Nandas, and the governor appointed by them was called Mahārathī. (Vol. I, account of the Nanda dynasty; Vol. III, account of the Śunga dynasty.) When Mahāpadmā, the second Nanda king died, there arose a quarrel for the succession to his throne. Mahāpadma's sons by Śūdra queens were not allowed to come to the throne. As a mark of protest against this, they left Magadh. One of them, Śrimukh, founded the Āndhra dynasty. His son Gautamiputra Yagnaśrī established his power over Vidarbha and married the daughter of the Mahārathī there. This Gautamiputra was the husband of Nāganikā, who got the Nāsik inscription erected. (More details about him will be given later on). From this time onwards, Vidarbha was sometimes under the power of Magadh and sometimes not. At last, it came under the power of Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty. (All this can be proved on the authority of coins.) After the death of Agnimitra, the Āndhras again became independent and dropped the word "Bhṛtya" altogether. Āpilik was thus the last Āndhrabhṛtya and the 10th king was the first Āndhrapati. The 28th Āndhra king, who was defeated in 236 A. D. by the Chaṣṭhaṇ king was the last Āndhrapati.

Thus, the kings of the dynasty can be divided into three categories. (1) Āndhrabhṛtyas; (2) Āndhrapates; & (3) Śakas. The first division consisted of nearly seven kings, the second of 19 and the third of ten, thus making the total 36.

Let us now try to find out, how long the rule of each division lasted (1) We know that the dynasty was founded in 100 A. M. We also know that they became independent after the death of Priyadarśin. The Āndhra king, Śātakarṇi by name, who was a contemporary of Priyadarśin, died in 301 A. M. Hence, for the first 201 years these kings were called Āndhrabhṛtyas. (2) The independent Āndhra kings or Āndhrapates ruled for 460 years. That means, that this period ended in 761 A. M.[21] or in 235 A. D. (3) We know that the Śaka era was founded in 78 A.D. As the dynasty itself ended in 235 A. D., the rule of this third

(21) Thus the dynasty was founded in 100 A. M. and ended in 761 A. M. Cf. f. n. no. 12.

division must have lasted for 157 years. If we consider the beginning of this period from the year in which the founder of the era died (83 A. D.), the duration of the third period would come to 153 years. We may now give the following table for the sake of easy reference.

Part	No. of kings		Duration of the period	
	According to Pargiter	According to us	According to Pargiter	According to us[22]
I (a) Āndhrabhṛtyas	1—6= 6	7	135[23]	201[24]
(b) Āndhrapates	7–30=25	29	346[25]	460[26]
II (a) Āndhrabhṛtyas	1—6= 6	7	135[23]	201
(b) Āndhrapates	7–23=17	19	228[27]	308[29]
(c) Śakas	24–31= 8	10	118[28]	152[30]
III The whole Śatavahana dynasty	1–31=31	36	481[31]	663[32]

(22) We have proved these things in the preceding pages.

(23) The details are, 23+10+10+18+18+56=135.

(24) Pp. 226, f. n. 21.

(25) 481—135=346.

(26) 460+201=661 (460 is based on the Purāṇas). Cf. f. n. nos. 32 below and 21 above.

(27) No. 7 to 23 of the dynastic list given on pp. 223, ruled for 228 years in the aggregate.

(28) No. 24 to the last king of the dynastic list given on pp. 223, ruled for 118 years in the aggregate (the aggregate of f. n. nos. 23, 27, 28, as well as that of 23, and 25 will come to 481).

(29) 460 years are to be divided into two parts. The Śakas ruled for 152 years and the Āndhrapates for 308 years (f. n. no. 30 below).

(30) 460—308=152. (Top of this page).

(31) The latter part of f. n. no. 28 above.

(32) F. n. nos. 21 and 26 above.

Now we turn to correcting the chronological list and the period allotted to kings by Mr. Pargiter. According to him there were six Āndhrabbṛtyas, while according to us there were seven. The period allotted to them by him is 135 years; the period allotted by us is 201 years. This can be explained as follows:— The Nānāghāt inscription by Queen Nāganikā gives us to understand[33] that she was a widow and that she conducted the affairs of government, because her sons were minors. At this time Śri-kṛṣṇa, the uncle of her husband and the brother of Śrimukh, usurped the throne from her. This proves that Nāganikā's husband ruled during the period, that succeeded that of Śrimukh and preceded that of Śri-kṛṣṇa. His coins are available[34], and they bear the name "Gautamiputra Yagnaśrī", This is how we prove that there were seven kings instead of six. Now, we turn to the difference in years. Dr. Rapson has assigned 56 years[35] to Mallika Śātakarṇi, while Mr. Pargiter has given him only 10 years. Looking to the details supplied by the Nānāghāṭ inscription[36], we find that her sons were only eight and six years old, at the time of their father's death. That was why Śri-kṛṣṇa usurped the throne and ruled for 10 years[37]. After his death, he was succeeded by the eldest son of Nāganikā, at the age of 18. If we assign him only 10 years of rule as Mr. Pargiter, he must have died at the age of 28 in the prime of his youth. Hence, it is more reasonable to agree with Dr. Rapson and assign him 56 years. That explains a difference of 46 years. For the remaining 20 years, we might assign them to Nāganikā's husband. Thus, we explain the difference of 66 years between 135 and 201.

Now, we turn to the second division of kings. Mr. Pargiter has given 17 as the number and has assigned 228 years to them. We

(33) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 50.

(34) Vol. II, coins nos. 69, 71, 72 etc.

(35) Lists in C. A. R. pp. 68; "Chronology" by Mrs. Mac. Duff.

(36) Chap. V; Inscr. no. 1.

(37) No. 2 in the dynastic list, in C. A. R. pp. 68. 18 years have been ascribed to Kṛṣṇa.

believe, that there were 19 kings[38] and that they ruled for 308 years in the aggregate. That can be explained as follows:–We know, that Vikramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhila dynasty had defeated the Śaka king of Avanti with the help of the Āndhra king of Paiṭhaṇ. Infuriated at this, the Śaka king had given a hot chase to the king of Paiṭhaṇ. A battle ensued, and the Śaka king died fighting. Ten years later died the king of Paiṭhaṇ, whose name was Sāta. (vide Vol. III, pp 349–50). Now, Vikramāditya Śakāri defeated the Śaka king in 57 B. C., as it is very well known. Hence, the king of Paiṭhaṇ must have died in 47 B. C. or 480 A.M. Secondly, it has been stated in Jaina books that Vikramāditya had gone on a pilgrimage to Pālitāṇā, the famous sacred place of the Jains, and had performed there many religious deeds under the guidance of a Jaina monk named Pādaliptasūri[39]. It has also been stated in these books, that king Sālivāhan of Paithaṇ performed some religious deeds at Pālitāṇā under the guidance of three Jaina monks, namely, Āryakhapūṭ Pādalipta and Nāgārjun. This proves that Vikramāditya, Sālivāhan and these three monks were contemporaries. The head of the Jaina monkish order at this time was Sinha–sūri (Chap. V, inscription 13), whose time was 471 A. M. to 548 A. M.=56 B. C. to 22 A. D. (78 years).

A glance at the dynastic list of the Gardabhila dynasty, given in Vol. III, will show that the period of Śakāri Vikramāditya is almost the same. Thus, the Jaina books tally with historical books. The story of the battle fought between the Śaka king and king Śāta of Paiṭhaṇ, as it is narrated in the Yugapurāṇ, proves the same thing. (Vol. III, pp. 349, f. n. 10). Thus, Śakāri Vikramāditya and king Śālivāhan were contemporaries. The only thing that remains now to be found out is, whether king Sāta who fought with the Śaka king was the same as king Sālivāhan or was his successor. The author of that famous book "Gāthāsaptasati" was a king named Hāl and the book shows that he was a learned man, a patron of literature and a valorous king.[40] This Hāl is

(38) The number may have been 17. Read further.

(39) References to this are made in his account.

(40) Details will be given in the accounts of his life.

called Śālavāhan or Sālavāna in Jaina books. The king of Paiṭhaṇ however, who helped Śakāri Vikramāditya has not been given any such distinctive title. It thus becomes clear that Śāta, the helper of Vikramāditya, was different from Śālivāhan, the patron of literature. The fact that Sāta helped Vikramāditya and the fact that Sālivāhan was a contemporary of Vikramāditya, mean that Śāta was the immediate predecessor of Śālivāhan. Looking at the dynastic list of Mr. Pargiter (pp. 223) we find that the name of the predecessor of Hāl is Ariṣṭakarṇa. The duration of his reign is long and probably he was a powerful and valorous king. He may have helped Vikramāditya. His reign, according to Mr. Pargiter, lasted for 25 years, which according to our dates, comes to A. M. 455 to 480=B. C. 72 to 47. King Hāl succeeded him in 480 A. M.

Another thing that we have to note is, that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi defeated a descendant of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ and thus revived the lost reputation for his dynasty. (pp. 223, No. 23: Poste Chap. V, inscr. No. 8). He founded a new era in celebration of this event.[41] The date of the beginning of this era is 78 A. D.= A. M. 605. He died 4½ years[42] later, in 610 A. M. after ruling at least for 22 years. He must, therefore, have ascended the throne in 588 A. M. Now, we have proved above, that King Hāl came to the throne in A. M. 480 (B. C. 47). We have shown just above, that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi died in A. M. 610. This means that there is an interval of 130 years between the two events. According to Mr. Pargiter (pp. 223) the interval comes to

(41) Further research has revealed it to me that the king, who defeated the descendant of Nahapāṇ, was different from the king who started the Śaka era, who was 23rd king in the line. (F. n. no. 42 below).

(42) This statement is based on the belief that the king, who defeated Nahapāṇ was the son of queen Balaśrī. (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928; New Series, Vol. III; an article by Mr. Bukhle). (See f. n. no. 41 above, where I have suggested the change). It does not however, alter the date, 78 A. D., although the periods of rule may have to be slightly modified, especially that of no. 18. (See the account).

81 years only[43], i. e. 49 years less. The only solution for this is to ascribe 49 more years to the period of Hāl's rule. There is some justification for this. He has come to the throne at a very young age. Again, to ascribe to him a short reign of only five years is not reasonable, because he was very powerful and valorous. It may be due to the error of a scribe, who may have written 5 instead of 55. Thus then, he must have ascended the throne in 480 A. M., and his reign must have ended in 544 A. M. Thus, we have proved that there was an interval of 130 years between the accession of Hāl and the death of Gautamiputra. Now, we have to prove that there preceded 12 Āndhrapates and that they ruled for 178 years, in order to make a total of 19 kings[44] and 308 years. Mr. Pargiter gives us the number of kings to be ten[45] and ascribes to them 146 years[46] in the aggregate. Obviously the gap of 32 years has to be ascribed to the two remaining kings; thus making the total 12. Let us try to find out the names of these kings. Some Purāṇas[47] give the names Āvi and Meghāsvāti[48], and ascribe to them 12 and 2 years respectively. According to us, Āvi ruled for 12 years and Meghāsvāti for 20 years, thus making the total 32. This may also have been the error of a scribe who may have written 2 instead of 20[49].

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(43) 5 years of Hāl+5+21+1+6 (months)+28+21=81½ years. (A slight change has to be inserted here also).

(44) The number of Āndhrapates has been calculated to 19. Taking into consideration, however, that the 7th king, Śātakarṇi by name, was an Āndhrabhṛtya for some time and an Āndhrapati for the rest of the time, and that the last Āndhrapati was Āndhrapati for a time, and Śaka for the rest of the time, we can say that their number was 17. (Cf. the latter part of f. n. no. 18 above).

(45) Read f. n. no. 44 for an explanation of this divergence.

(46) The durations of their reigns were:—18, 12, 18, 18, 7, 3, 8, 1, 36 and 25=146 years.

(47) C. A. R. pp. 68. These extracts from the Purāṇas are quoted there.

(48) Thus there were two Meghasvātes in the line, the 11th and 13th.

(49) It may be that Meghasvāti ruled for 22 years. (Some difference in the number of years does not much matter because there took place no event

We now turn to the third division, the Śaka kings. According to Mr. Pargiter there were 8 kings in this divison, and they ruled for 119 years. According to us, there were 10 kings and they ruled for 152 years. The gap of 33 years may be ascribed to the two additorial kings. The dynasty ended in 235 A. D. If we take the view that the dynasty ended in 261 A. D., we shall have to accept that there were 39 kings[50] instead of 36. But there is little reason[51] to support the view that the rule of the dynasty ended in 261 A. D.

We give below a summary of our conclusions:—

		A. M.	A. M. B. C.	A. D. years.
(1) The whole dynasty	: 36 kings:—	100 to	761=427 to	235.
	39 kings:—	100 to	788=427 to	261.
				B. C.
(2) Āndhrabhṛtya[52]	: 7 kings:—	100 to	301=427 to	225=201.
	9 kings:—	100 to	331=427 to	195=231.
				A. D.
(3) Āndhrapates	: 32 kings:—	301 to	788=225 to	261=487.
	: 30 kings:—	331 to	788=195 to	261=456.

Prominent among these were:—

(A.) Nos. 8 to 28 = 20 (21, if we consider 29 in all).

(B.) Nos. 10 to 29 = 18 (19, „ „ „ „ „ „).

(C.) Nos. 8 to 28 = 21 (19, if we drop two, whose names are not found out[53]).

(D.) Nos. 10 to 28 = 19 (17, if we drop two, whose names are not found out).

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of importance during the reigns of all the kings from 7 to 16). (See the remarks at the end of this para).

(50) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 212:—"The number of kings appears to be correctly stated (in Purāṇas) as having been thirty". (Thus we have 9 Āndhrabhṛtyas+30 others=39 in all).

(51) Read further, the paragraph entitled "The place of capital".

(52) This must be the right number. (Some changes in these dates are results of further research work).

(53) F. n. no. 52 above.

This list is open to correction. I am practially sure of (1) the periods of rule & order of succession of nos. 1 to 7 and of 17–18 (2) while for the rest nos. 8 to 16; the aggregate period is right but their respective period & succession may be changed a little here and there[54].

THE DYNASTIC LIST OF THE ŚATAVAHANAS

No.	Name	A.M.–A.M.	Years	B.C.–B.C.	Religion	Other details
1	Śrimukh (Vāsisṭhi-putra Vili-vāyakuras.	100–113	13	427–414	Jain	Founded his capital in Painth to the west of Nāsik.
2	Yagnaśri (Gautami-putra (Vi-livayakuras.	113–144	31[55]	414–383	„	Husband of queen Nāganikā; Probably his capital was in Junner, No. 20 inscription.
	Vadasat, Śrī Śātakarṇi	144–145	10 mths.	383–382	„	Son of Nāganikā; minor.
3	Śri Kṛsṇa I. (Vāsi-sṭhiputra).	145–154	10[56]	382–373	„	Some of his territory was conquered by Chandragupta.

(54) F. n. no. 49.

(55) Inscription no. 20. Chap. VI. (C. A. R. Intro. pp. 39).

"Two of Pulumāvi's predecessors seem to have borne the title Vilivāyakura in the district of Kolhapur". Pulumāvi here means no. 18.

(56) J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi.) Vol. III, pp. 53; "Srimukh..... was succeeded by his younger brother Kṛṣṇa who ruled for 18 years". The Purāṇas have given a dynastic list. (C. A. R. Intro. pp. 68). Many changes had to be made in this list. Ten years had to be allotted to Kṛṣṇa and 8 to Gautamiputra.

4	Mallik Śrī Śātakarṇi. Vāsiṣṭhipu-tra Viliva-yakuras.	154–210	56	373–317	Jain	Son of Nāga-nikā; came to the throne when he attained majority. Bhadrabāhu's and Varāhami-hir's astrological contests took place during his reign.
5	Purṇotsang (Mādhari-putra).[57]	210–228	18	317–299	„	Vide chap. VI. Inscription No. 3. He changed the seat of his capital from Painṭh (Pratiṣ-ṭhānpur) to Bennākaṭak (A-marāoti). He became the ma-ster of Kaling.
6	Skandh-stambha. Kṛṣṇa II, (Gautami-putra Vilivaya-kuras (?)	228–246	17½	299–282	„	He was defeat-ed by Priyadarśin; His son and successor was also defeated by Priyadarśin in another battle.
7	Vāsiṣṭhipu-tra Śāta-karṇi	246–302	56½	282–225	Jain at first; be-came con-vert to Vedic religion in his later life.	Follower of Patañjali. See No. 6, above. Performed two Aśvamedha sa-crifices.

(57) C. A. R. pp. 27, para 35:—"His (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakura) (Coins nos. 57 & 59) position as predecessor to Māṭhariputra (§ 36) and Gautamīputra (§ 37)".

8	Lambodar	302–320	18	225–207	Vedic	
9	Āpilik Apilak	320–332	12	207–195	„	In B. C. 196 (Vol. III, pp 49) Agnimitra married Mālavikā, the daughter of the chief of Vidarbha.
10	Āvi	332–344	12	195–183	„	
11[58]	Megha-svātī I[59].	344–382	38	183–145	At first a follower of the Vedic religion; then a Jain.	The Jaina monk Kāliksūri Śyamārya (author of Payannās) converted him to Jainism. This Kāliksūri was the maternal uncle of Balamitra and Bhānumitra of the Śunga dynasty. He had to quit Avantī during the rainy season and go into the Deccan.
12	Saudās Sanghasvāti	382–411	29	145–116	Jain	Was defeated by Nahapāṇ Kṣatrap and by Ṛṣabhdatta. Inscription Nos. 31–35.

(58) For changes in the durations of the reigns of nos. 11 to 16, see f. n. no. 49 above.

(59) Contemporaries of Odrak and Bhāg (Balamitra and Bhānumitra) of the Śunga dynasty.

13	Meghasvāti II.	411–414	3	116–113	Jain	Ayama, the minister of Nahapāṇ defeated him. Inscription No. 35. His capital was probably Antaranjikā, which may have been near Aurangābād. It may also have been Warrangul or Amarāoti.
14	Mṛgendra	414-435	21	113—92	„	Read No. 13 for the seat of the capital.
15	Svātikarṇa (Queen Balaśrī) (Gautami-gotrı).	435-452	17	92—75	„	
16	Mahendra Dipakarṇi (No. 15's eldest son and father of No. 18.) Queen Subhadrā (Vāsiṣthi-gotri.)	452-455	3	75—72	„	May have renounced his throne, and may have become a Jaina monk. (Inscription No. 8. "Whose son is living.")
17	Ariṣṭakarṇa Riktavarṇa Nemıkṛṣṇa Gautamı-putra Śātakaraṇi; No.15's son, younger brother of No. 16 and uncle of No. 18.	455-480	25	72—47	„	Helper of Śakāri Vikramāditya. " Restored the glory of forefathers". Connected with Nāsik inscription. Contemporary of Kālıksūri II of Gardabhila fame.

18	Hāl Śāli-vāhan Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi; Pulumāvi; Kuntal; No.16's son, grandson of No. 15. and nephew of No. 17.	480–545	65[60]	B. C. A. D. 47—18	Jain	No. 18 was probably born after No. 17 ascended the throne. Contemporary of Jaina monks named Pādliptasūri and Nāgārjun Donar of money to Sāñchī Stūpa of Chandragupta.
				A. D. A. D.		
19	Mantalak	545–553	8	18—26	„	
20	Purindrasen	553–559	6	26—32	„	
21	Sunder Śātakarṇi	559–559	½	32—32	„	
22	Chakor	559–562	3	32—35	„	
23	Śivasvāti	562–605	43	35—78	Vedic (?)	Who was born through a mysterious event. The thing is doubtful. Founder of the Śaka era. A. D. 78 =A. M. 605 (?)
24	Gautami-putra Śātakarṇi.	605–626	21	78—99	„	Conquered Saurāstra in 105 A. D.
25	Chatrapaṇ Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi[61]	626–649	23	99–122	„	Inscription of Nānāghaṭ No. 18

(60) F. n. no. 49 above.

(61) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. Vol. III, pp. 80.—"It is worthy of note, however that the Vāyupurāṇ mentions a Śātakarṇi after Pulumāvi and this

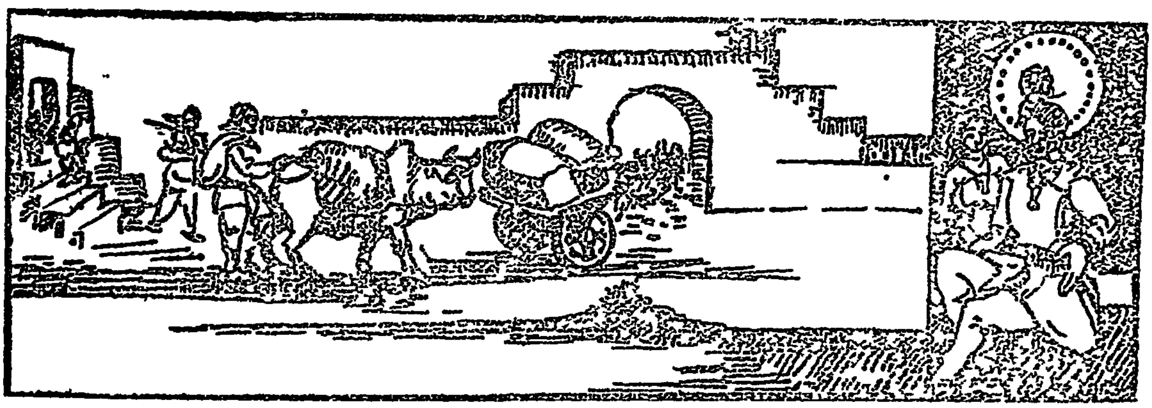
26	Pulumāvi II[62] Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi.	649–680	31	122–153	Vedic (?)	His coins are found out in Kāthiāwār. No. 21 Nāsik and Nos. 22 & 23 Kanheri inscriptions; contemporary of Chasṭhaṇ.
27	Śivaśree (Vāsiṣṭhiputra ?)	680–707	27	153–180	„	Defeated by the descendants of Chasṭhaṇ. Had to recede his capital as far back as Vijayantanagar.
28	Śivaskandha (Gautamiputra ?)	707–714	7	180–187	„	
29	Yagnaśree Śātakarṇi (Vāsiṣṭhiputra ?)	714–744	30	187–217	„	
30 31 32	Three kings[63].	744–790	45 about	217–262	„	

probably refers to Vaśiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ inscription. (C.A.R. insc. 18). Pandit Bhagvānlāl, who discovered this inscription regarded Chatrapaṇ Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi mentioned therein as the immediate successor of Pulumāvi". [Note:–"Pulumāvi" here means "Hāl". The mistake is due to misdeciphering by scholars.]

Ibid pp. 81:–"The name Vaśiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi indicates that the king was identical with the king referred to in Kanheri inscription". (C. A. R. no. 22).

(62) Changes in the dynastic list of the Chasṭhaṇas are due to further research.

(63) The names of these kings as given in C. A. R. Intro. pp. 42 are Śrirudra, Śrikṛṣṇa II and Śrichandra II. It has also been stated there that the Āndhra kingdom was divided into two parts : Eastern and Western. These kings ruled over the eastern division with which we are not concerned. We are not quite definite about the date when the dynasty ended.



Chapter III

The Śatavahana dynasty (Continued)

Synopsis:—*More details about Andhra and Āndhra—More details about the origin of the Āndhras—Parentage of the founder of the dynasty.*

Causes of the foundation of the new dynasty, and a discussion of the points arising from them—Class to which the descendants of Ikṣavāku family might belong—

Difference between Āndhrabhṛtyas and Andhrapates—Kings belonging to each division—Comparison between Śungabhṛtya and Āndhrabhṛtya.

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY (Cond.)

We have already shown in Chap. I, that the term "Andhra" denotes the name of the country and must have come into existence somtimes between the 3rd and the 6th centuries A. D.; that the term "Āndhra" denotes the name of a race and that the first mention of the term, according to Dr. Rapson, has been made in the Aiterriya Brāhmaṇ, in the 5th century B. C.; that no mention is made of any of these two terms in any of the coins or inscriptions of these Āndhra kings.

Summary of previous details

Now, we have proved that the dynasty was found in 100 A.M.= 427 B. C. The term "Andhra" came into existence nearly seven hundred years later in the 3rd century A. D., at the earliest. We have, however, already proved that the rule of the dynasty ended in 235 A. D., i e. before the term "Andhra" came into existence. Hence, the dynasty itself had no connection with the term.

Let us turn to the term "Āndhra". Dr. Rapson tells us that the term was for the first time used in the Aiterriya Brāhamaṇ in the 5th or 6th century B. C. We have proved that the dynasty was founded in 427 B. C. Evidently, there seems to be some connection between the origin of the term and the founding of the dynasty. What reason, then, must there have been for these kings in not using this term in their coins or inscriptions ?

An extract from E. H. I. quoted on pp. 204 tells us:—" Andhra nation, Dravidian people now represented by the large population, speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godavarī and the Krishna on the eastern side of India and was reputed to possess a military force, second only to that at the command of the Prasii Chandragupta Maurya." We regret to note that the writer of this extract has given no piece of evidence for identifying the Āndhras with the Drāvidians. The author of C. A. R. also has said that the "Andhras" were a race; (pp. 204 for quotation) but he has also not given any proof in support of his conclusion that the Āndhras were the same as the natives of Telugu.[1] We might

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(1) People generally accept as true the conclusions arrived at by scholars

deduce from the theories of these two scholars that the Āndhras, later on, came into close contact with the people, speaking the Telugu dialect and living in the Telugu country. These scholars have always been caütious in arriving at conclusions based on ancient books. We *might notice their caution in* sentences and phrases like:—(1) "The Home of the so called Andhras (pp. 206);" (2) "Satavahanas were not Andhras." (pp. 207); (3) "The founder of the dynasty was born at Paithan." (pp. 206). It is possible that the parents of the mother of the founder of the dynasty might have been living in Paithaṇ and that the mother must have gone there on the occasion of the delivery. Hence, this does not necessarily prove that Paiṭhaṇ was an integral part of the Āndhra kingdom. Paiṭhaṇ, moreover, is situated in the western part of south India; while all scholars are unanimous on the point that the Andhradeś was situated in the eastern portion of south India. In short, the term "Āndhra" denotes the name of a race and the place of their origin has not yet been definitely found out. Their connection with south India is a thing that came about much later on. The kings of the dynasty have not connected the term with their names. Hence, we have not yet been able to arrive at definite conclusions.

The origin of the Āndhras

Dr. Rapson, the famous coin-expert[2], says:—"The four Puranas, which have been independently[3] exmained, agree in stating that the first of the Andhra kings rose to power by slaying Susherman, the last of the Kanvas. In three of them, he is called Shimukh; in the fourth, he is simply described as a strong Sudra, Vrshalo Bali"[4]. The commentator regards Bali as a proper name.

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of established reputation, though these scholars have not advanced any proofs in support of their conclusions.

(2) C. A. R. pp. 64.

(3) The names of the four Purāṇas are:—Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhāgvat.

(4) For the real meaning of the term, vide vol. II, pp. 149, f. n. no. 26 and pp. 170, f. n. no. 29.

Dr. H. C. Sheth of the Nāgpur University states:—"Likely the word

Thus, it becomes clear that according to the Purāṇas, the term "Āndhra" denoted a race. Prof. Williams has defined the term Āndhra as follows in his dictionary:—"A man of low caste (the off-spring of a Vaideha father[5] and Karwar mother[6], who lives by killing game." We know that Videh and Kārwār are situated at a long distance from each other. The coins of Śrimukh and those of his descendants bear "Bow and Arrow", thus showing his low parentage. A deep student of South Indian History[7] says:—"There was also a Nandaraja of Kalinga, from whom some four Kshatriya clans of Andhra-desh are descended; so says a Telugu version"[8]. Which were these four clans ?[9] and what Nanda king[10]

Vṛṣal which perhaps originally meant, one belonging to a non-brahminical and heretical sect...I suggest that Vṛṣal as used in connection with Chandragupta is the sanskritised form of "Basileus" (Prakrit form of which will be Basal), which was the Greek equivalent of Rajan (king)".

(5) The capital of Videh was Viśālā, details about which have been given in vol. I. The king ruling at that time was Cheṭak, who belonged to the Lichchhavī clan, which was a branch of Saṁvrijis. So, the father was a Kṣatriya and the mother was a Śūdra. Evidently, "Āndhra" was the name of a race. Cf. pp. 207.

"Kārvār" is the name of a town in the Bombay Presidency. In its neighbourhood are situated big cities like Belgaum, Dhārwār and Kolhāpur. From that region are found out the coins of Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand. This region was under the power of the Kadambas. The Śūdra girl may have been the inhabitant of this town. Or, "Karvar" may have been the name of a caste; any way she may be so called because of her connection with the name of the town or of the caste.

(6) Read f. n. no. 5 above, the second paragraph.

(7) J. S. I. part II, pp. 4, f. n. no. 1.

(8) "Dravidian" is considered to be the original language of south India. It was divided into four branches:—(1) Telegu dialect, spoken at present in the Hydrābād State. The region in which it is spoken is called Telangaṇ. (2) Tāmil, the dialect chiefly spoken in most parts of the Madras Presidency. (3) Kanārese, now spoken in Mysore State and in the Kānārā districts of the Bombay Presidency. (4) Malāyam, spoken in the southern-most parts like Madurā, Cape Comorin, Cochin, Malabār etc.

These details make it clear that Telugu was spoken in the region called Āndhra. The origin of the Āndhras is deduced on the authority of the Telugu literature. Hence, that is a very reliable source.

is meant here ? Unfortunately, the author has not made these two points clear. He states, however, further[11]:—" The Andhras of the Talevāha river (referred to in the Jataka stories[12] of the sixth century B. C.) the contemporaries of Khārvel[13] must likewise have been Jains[14] as also the Nāgas[15], in alliance with them[16] and the Sendraka-Nāgas[17] in alliance with the Kadambas[18]. Very little is known about these Āndhras, except that they were immigrants[19] into the lands inhabited by the Kalingas[20] and the Telingas.

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(9) Read f. n. no. 20 below.

(10) Read f. n. no. 26 below.

(11) Ibid, part I, pp. 74.

(12) This is one more proof for the fact that Śrimukh was not a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śung.

(13) This proves that Khārvel lived in the 5th century B. C. Cf. f. n. no. 12 above.

(14) The Āndhras have been called Jains. Khārvel, as we have already proved, was a Jain.

(15) The Nandas as well as Śiśunāgas may be simply called Nāgas.

(16) All of them were Jains. We have proved this in vol. I, in the accounts of the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties.

(17) This must have been a branch of the Nāgas.

(18) This proves that the Kadambas were a branch of the Nāgas. (Vol. I, account of Nandivardhan).

(19) This means that the region about the river Talevāha was not the native place of Āndhra (f. n. no. 11).

(20) According to the writer, then, the four branches of the Kṣatriyas that originated from king Nand were:—Nāga, Sendraka Nāga; Kadamba and Āndhra. But in the same book (pp. 20 to 25) he has mentioned "5 clans of Andhra Rajputs or Kshatriya clans" and has enumerated them as follows —

(1) Kākatiyas of Warrangul; (2) Koṭas of Dhānya-kaṭaka; (3) Pūsāpaties of Bezwāḍā and Pūsāpadu of Vijayanagar; (Khārvel probably destroyed some peculiar structure here. Cf. line 11 of Hāthīgumfā inscr. on pp. 145); (4) Kosars; (5) Vagḍus.

He further adds:—"All these were Shaivites. Some of them (or perhaps all) may have been Buddhists or Jains during the Satavahan period".

[Note:—The Śatavahanas were followers of Jainism from the first. Hence their co-relatives also were Jains. Some of them, later on, became converts to the Vedic religion, but none of them was ever a Buddhist. Most of the above branches were Jains for most time.]

Whether they belonged to the Satavahana[21] clan or not, is difficult to determine". It becomes clear from this extract that the term "Āndhra" does not mean the Śātavahans only; it also includes within its fold other races as well. Probably the Śātavahana clan was one of the branches of the Āndhra race. (cf. pp. 205–7 and pp. 242). The same scholar quotes Dr. Buhler in his book[22] as follows:—" Dr. Buhler is of opinion that it was the Kadamba script that latterly developed into the Telugu–Kanarese of Andhra–Karnata variety of south Indian alphabets. This lends colour to the suggestion that the Andhra and Kadambas to-gether contributed to the earliest growth of the fine arts and culture of Andhra and Karnata provinces". In short, the culture of[23] south India is mainly indebted to the Kadambas[24] and Āndhras, and the Kadamba script was the source of many other scripts.

(21) Read f. n. no. 12 above.

(22) J. S. I. Vol. II, pp. 576.

(23) These details will probably be useful to us in deciding the date of the Gomaṭeśvara idol.

(24) Dr. Bühler here seems to incline to the view that the Kadambas were the predecessors of the Āndhras from the point of settlement and of languages. But later on, he seems to state that the Kadambas were not the predecessors of the Āndhras. He states on pp. 76 of the same book:—"On the decline of Andhra dynasty about the year A. D. 302[1] (for there is a coin of a Satavahana king bearing that date) came into power the Abhiras or Kalchuris or Haihayas, the Rāṣṭrakuṭas and the Kadambas[2], on the ruins of whose power the Chālukyas[3], (please note that they are not Chaulukyas) claim to have built up the empire; and they seem to be direct followers of Kadambas, as is manifest from the style of Mānvyasa gotra, Haritiputra etc. which they have adopted from their Kadamba predecessors; for, as far as can be gathered from inscriptions, the Kadambas were the earliest south Indian dynasty to adopt this style[4]".

On pp. 80 he states:—"The formula which expresses Satavahan culture

1. For my idea on this point, vide pp. 221 and f. n. there.

2. As a matter of fact, the Kadambas were the earliest.

3. Chaulukyas are different from Chālukyas.

4. So the Kadambas were the people, from whom the Ābhiras etc. originated.

From the extracts quoted above from various scholars, we come to the following conclusions:—The Śatavahanas had some connection with the Kadambas in the south and with the Nandas and the Mauryas in the north. The Śatavahanas, who were a branch of the Āndhras, were of a Śūdra origin from mother's

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best" is "Siddham Namah"; the formula which expresses Chālukya culture best is "Om Śivāya Siddham Namah" or "Om Namah Nārāyaṇam". Shaivism and Narayanism are said to be particularly of south Indian origin, while Buddhism[5] expressed by "Siddham Namah" is Mauryan[6] and north Indian."

These extracts prove clearly that all these races were Jains. It has already been proved by us that Śatavahanas descended from the Nandas. The readers should note that the "Chālukyas" belonged to south India; while the "Chaulakyas" belonged to north India; they are names of different races. The latter originated in the 6th century A. D. (?) on Mt. Ābu from a sacrifice. The origin of the former, on the other hand, is much older.

On pp. 83, the same writer states:—"Social unions and fusions are always attempted to safeguard their political power. Evidence of this is found in Viṣṇukuṇḍ[7]-Kadamb-Satakarani, who must have been a prince born of the Satakarṇi[8] and Kadamba union; similar relations the Satavahanas are said to have contracted with the Pallavas[9] and the Nagas; the Kalchuris also followed this tradition of social union". We may give here some more examples of this. Śreṇik and his son Ajātśatru had marriage-alliances with Prasenjit of Kośal. Ninth Nand and Chandragupta; Aśok and Seluecus Necator; Śrimukh's son Yagnaśrī and Nāganikā, the daughter of a Mahārathi of Vidarbha; Agnimitra and Mālavikā of Vidarbha etc.

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5. The right term ought to be Jain, because the word "Siddha" originally belonged to Jainism.

6. Signs (on Mauryan coins) like "Moon on the Hill" "Svastika" "Chaitya" have been accepted by Pandit Jayasvāl as Jaina signs. (Vol. II, chap. III, at the end. Details about religious signs).

7. Cf. Coins of Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand. Vol. II. ; Vide vol. I for details about them.

8. Vide the account of Rudradāman, pp. 77–78. Scholars, having misinterpreted the Kanheri inscription, have come to the conclusion that Rudradāman gave his daughter in marriage to the Śatakarṇi king. I have stated my ideas on this point there (see further, part XI, chap. V, inscr. no. 17).

9. Vide the account of Nandivardhan in vol. I. Read details about Pallavas, Kadambas etc. and the connections among them.

side, and of a Kṣatriya origin from the father's side. Śrimukh, the founder of the dynasty, was born before 427 B. C., because he founded the dynasty in that year. He must have been born in about 450 to 460 B. C. As regards the father of Śrimukh, Mr. Williams tells us that he was a native of Videh, while the author of "Jainism in South India" tells us that the Āndhras were descendants of some Nanda king[25]. Let us then find out, which of the Nanda kings ruled in about 460 B. C. and whether he was a native of Videh and had married a Śūdra woman. We know that the Nandas were the descendants of the Nāgas, who were a branch of the Saṁvriji clan, which consisted of eighteen branches. These Saṁvriji were the natives of Videh and they spread everywhere in India from Videh. Thus, the Nandas were in a way natives of Videh. Again Videh was under the power of the Nandas. We know, that of the nine Nanda kings, only the first, the second and the ninth were valorous and powerful; the rest were nominal. Further, out of these three, Nand IX, ruled from 415 B. C. to 372 B. C. and was born of a Śūdra mother. But he had not married a Śūdra girl himself. Nand I as we know, had conquered many countries and had established his power over most of the southern countries. Nand II thus, had inherited these southern provinces from his father. Nand I ruled from 472 B. C. to 456 B. C. and Nand II ruled from 456 B. C. to 428 B. C. It has, however, been already proved that, it was Nand II who had married a Śūdra girl. Hence, Śrimukh's father was none else but Nand II[26].

The origin of the dynasty

We propose to deal here with the causes why Śrimukh, the son of Nand II, founded a new dynasty in the south. When Nand II died, question arose as to which of his sons should be placed on the throne because some were born of Śūdra queens & others were born of Kṣatriya queens. It was at last decided, that one of the Kṣatriya-born sons should succeed Nand II. The same question arose when Nand VIII died. At that time, it was decided that, one on

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(25) Read above the details about "Śatavahan".

(26) Cf. f. n. no. 10 on pp. 243.

whom the female-elephant sprinkled sacred water should succeed him. One of the Śūdra-born sons[27] was this time fortunate enough to be singled out by the female-elephant, while his wedding ceremony was going on.[27]

The fact that after the death of Nand II, there was a quarrel for succession shows that one of the Śūdra sons must have had the greatest right to the throne on account of seniority in age. Nand II had married a Śūdra girl, only five or six years before his accession to the throne. Śrimukh was born of her. Naturally, he was the eldest of all the children of Nand II. His right to the throne was discarded by ministers on the ground that the throne should be occupied by a Ksatriya only. Śrimukh had a younger brother named Kṛsṇa by the same mother. This Kṛsṇa had usurped the throne from the son of his nephew Gautamiputra Yagnaśri while he was a minor. Śrimukh left Magadh as a sign of protest against the throne being given to one, who was junior to him in age. He went southwards, probably because his mother's parents must have been staying there. We know that his mother belonged to the Karvar family. The name suggests that her parents must have been the natives of Kārvār district. It is also known that her parents belonged to the hunting tribe[28] who lived on game. In this district are also found the coins of Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand. The signs on these coins[29] resemble the signs on Śrimukh's coins. It is obvious that these chiefs were in some way related to Śrimukh. Most probably they were very near relatives of Śrimukh's mother.

Now, we turn to a problem, on which scholars are sharply

(27) At this time Nand was getting married with a Brahmin girl. This shows that intercaste marriages were allowed in those times. Nand II was not called Kālāśok becauee of his marriage with a Śūdra girl, because such marriages were common in those times.

(28) F. n. no. 29 below.

(29) Vol. II, nos. 49, 50, 51, 52 (coins). Compare them with nos. 53, 54 and others. "The Bow and the Arrow" on these coins suggests the calling of hunters. F. n. no. 28 above. Cf. the extract from C. H. I. pp. 530 in the next chapter.

divided. Śrimukh and his successors ruled in the region between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. At many places in the region–Nāsik, Junner, Kanheri, Nānāghāṭ etc.—inscriptions and coins of these kings have been found out. In one of these inscriptions, which the scholars have named Nasik no. 2, there are two phrases, which, according to scholars, shed light on the caste of Śrimukh. They are:—(1) ' Eka Bamahanasa " and Khatiya dapamā–na–madana. " A scholar named J. C. Ghosh has written a learned article on these phrases in " The Indian Culture " 1938, Vol. V, No. I, July. He says:—" Scholars are not at one about the caste of the Satavahanas. Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhari thinks they are brahamans. While Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has taken pains to prove that they are non–brahamans. Both the scholars have mainly relied on the same evidence, though interpreting differently[30] to arrive at their respective conclusions."[31] Scholars, who hold the opinion that the Śatavahanas were Brahmins, argue that the term " Bamahanasa " means Brāhmaṇa and that the other term means " One who has destroyed the pride of the Kṣatriyas." Now, such humiliation and extermination of the Kṣatriyas were brought about by Paraśurām who was a Brāhmin. Hence, a person who has achieved the same exploit must have been a Brāhmin. Scholars, who hold that they were non–brāhmanas argue that even Mahāpadma[32], who was born of a Śūdra mother, had exterminated the Kṣatriyas.[33] Hence, the task of humiliating or of destroying the Kṣatriyas is not necessarily confined to the Brāhmins alone. They

(30) This shows that scholars are in the habit of interpreting the same piece of evidence in many ways. Many instances of the kind can be shown, (Vol. I, the three verses of Pariśiṣṭhaparva in connection with the dynasties that ruled over Avanti; the term "Khatiyadapamānamardana" etc.).

(31) The author of J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi. Vol. III), holds the same opinion (pp. 52).

(32) Vol. I, the account of Nand IX, who was the son of Nand II by a Śūdra girl. He had exterminated the Kṣatriyas. The Purāṇas call him Mahāpadma. We have shown that Mahāpadma was the name of Nand II, and Mahānand of Nand IX.

(33) Viṣṇupurāṇ 4, 24.

also argue that the term "Eka Bamahanasa" should be interpreted as "a unique votary of Subramanya (the warrior of god Kartikeya)." In support of this, they tell us that the term Ksatru according to Manu means "a mixed low caste, born of Sudra father and a Kshatriya mother." These Kṣatrus are a tribe, as old as the time of Alexander the Great. One party argues that the names of their mothers' families—Gautami gotra, Vasiṣṭha gotra etc—indicate that they were Brāhmins[34] The other party states that even in the Iksavāku dynasty, there were Kṣatriyas and Brāhmins[35] and further raise the question:—"If they were Brahamans why did they not mention their patronymic ?" In reply to this the first party says:—"Salivahan[36] was the son of Sesh, the king of serpents, and of a brahman girl, and he goes by his mother's caste of Brahman." (N. B. The real reason, as we have already noted, of these kings being called by their mothers' family-names, was that these kings were polygamous and hence each son had to be differentiated by his mother's family-name.[37] They also say:—"The name Naganika shows that they married Naga girls also."[38] They also state that the Nagar-brahmaṇas of Gujarat are descendants of Brahmins by Naga girls. Hence they say:—"Now, if these Nagar-brahmins, who were the off-springs of a Naga and a Brahmin-girl,[39] could be Brahmans, there could be no objections

(34) We will show later on, on the evidence of coins that this is a wrong belief. (Vide the account of Śrimukh, given later on).

(35) Ibid, pp. 22:—"In fact, it is not true that all the descendants of Ikshavaku were Kshatriyas. There were Brahmans also among them".

(36) "Śālivāhan" is the name of that king of the dynasty who flourished 450 years after the establishment of the dynasty. Hence, the origin of the dynasty cannot be connected with his name. Again, the king with whom this legend is connected, lived much later than even Śālivāhan. The legend has no connection with Śālivāhan. (Vide his account).

(37) Vol. II, pp. 11, f. n. no. 49.

(38) If the scholars mean that Nāganikā was a Nāga princess, then Mālavikā, with whom Agnimitra married, must also be called the same, and names like Mahendra, Suresha, Kumār etc. must be connected with God Indra.

(39) Readers are requested to notice the inconsistency of the scholars

to the Satavahanas being Brahmans with similar legendary origin." After stating all these arguments advanced by both the parties Mr. Ghosh states[40]:—"To sum up, Prof. Bhandarker has failed to adduce a single piece of evidence which goes against the possibility of the Satavahanas being Brahman; on the other hand their Brahmanic matronymics go positively to show that they were Brahmans. Their legendary origin also points to this. Possibly they were Brahmanas Possibly they were Naga-Brahmins without gotra. The Ikṣhavāku kings of South India were the Brahman decendants of Ikshavaku."

We come to the following conclusions about this problem:—

(1) The term "Babamanaṣa" does not necessarily mean a "Brāhmin." It means also one, who observes "Celebacy." The term has been used in this sense in numerous edicts of Priyadarśin. More details about this will be given in my "Life of Priyadarśin" which is to be published shortly.

(2) One, who exterminates the Kṣatriyas need not necessarily be a Brāhmin. Even Mahāpadma, who was born of a Śūdra mother, achieved it.

(3) Both the Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages used to take place in those times as they take place to-day.

(4) We have stated the origin of the terms "Śatavahan" and "Śālivāhan."

(5) We have also given above, the reason why sons in those times were called by the family-names of their mothers.

(6) We, moreover, draw here the attention of readers to the fact, that we have proved all these things on the evidence of coins and inscriptions.

We will now refer to one or two allusions in the Purāṇas about the origin of the Āndhras and then close this affair. (1) In Vāyu, Matsya and Viṣṇu[41] the Śatavahanas are stated to be "of

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here. They once say that the Nāgar Brāhmanas are the offsprings of a Brāhman father and a Nāga girl; they say in the next sentence that they were the offsprings of a Nāga father and a Brāhman girl.

(40) Ibid, pp. 23.

(41) The details of Andhra in chap. I.

the same caste as the Andhras"[42]. (2) The Bhāgvat[43] calls them Vṛṣal or Śūdra. In Viṣṇu, Śrimukh has been called "Balipucchak."[44] We have already explained in what sense Chāṇkya used the term "Vrṣal" in connection with Chandragupta. (Vol. II, pp. 149. f. n. 26 pp. 170). The term Balipucchak seems to have the same meaning.

We have already explained the meaning of the term "Āndrabhṛtya." It means that those Āndhra kings, who were called by this name, were under the vassalage of other kings.

We should note that this term is conspicuous by its absence in Jaina and Buddhist books. Only the Purāṇas contain the mention of this term. Now, these Purāṇas are believed to have been composed in about the third or fourth century A. D. Many Vedic scholars, however, flourished before that time. Patañjali, the famous commentator, flourished in the 2nd century B. C.. We have shown that he played a prominent part in the religious revolution that took place in his times; and his part in the political changes was no less prominent. Below are given some details about the part played by him.

The history of the Āndhrabhṛtyas

He was born at a place situated near the sources of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. While he was young, the seventh Āndhra king[45] was ruling in the south, and Priyadarśin was ruling in the north. We know that Priyadarśin had inflicted a heavy defeat on this Āndhra king in a terrible war.[46] Details about this war will

(42) Ibid, pp. 23. We have interpreted the same statement in another way. (pp. 243 above).

(43) Bhā. Prā. Rājvamśa, vol. II, pp. 156; see above the extract from C. A. R. pp. 64 (pp. 241); Bhāgvat Skandha 12, chap. I, verse 20.

(44) Viṣṇupurāṇa, Anśa IV, chap. 24, verse 44.

(45) See the dynastic list on pp. 233 & Seq.

(46) Rock-edict no. 13 of Priyadarśin. His conquest over Kaling is described there. Cf. the allusion to it in Sudarśan lake inscription. It is stated there, that he defeated the king of Dakṣiṇāpath twice and then was connected with him by a close tie.

be given in the account of this king, later on. During these times, it was custom that though one king was defeated by another, the conqueror allowed the defeated king to retain his throne, provided he accepted his suzerainty. Patañjali seems to have considered this king a "Bhṛtya" of Priyadarśin. The terms "Āndhrabhṛtya" and "Śungabhṛtya" seem to have been used in the Purāṇas in this sense. But that was a period of great political changes. This system of allowing a defeated king to retain the mastery over his kingdom was fast disappearing. Kingdoms of kings, who were defeated, had begun to be absorbed lock, stock and barrel by the victors.

The thing, we have now to find out, is whether the predecessors of this seventh Āndhra king were independent or were "Bhṛtyas" of some other king. We know that Śrimukh, the founder of this dynasty, and Kṛṣṇa, his younger brother, had left Magadh as a sign of protest against the decision, that only a Kṣatriya-born son was to succeed to the throne. Most probably they were given a portion of the empire in compensation. This portion must have been the region, where now are situated the states of Revā-Bundelkhaṇḍ and the district of Mahākośal. Śrimukh, therefore, must first have settled in this region. After consolidating his power in the region thus given to him, he must have made preparations for further conquests. He turned his eyes towards Kaling where Khārvel had recently come to the throne[47]. Thinking that he had favourable chances of success there, he invaded Kaling. No sooner did Khārvel hear of this than he marched towards him with a large army and not only inflicted upon him a severe defeat but forced him to retreat as far back as Nāsik and the Sahyādri ranges. Khārvel on his return annexed the region now known as Hydrābād state and destroyed a part of it.[48] Though Śrimukh was thus defeated by Khārvel and though a part of his kingdom

(47) Śrimukh was about 32 years old at this time. Khārvel, on the other hand, was only 26. (Hāthīgumfā inscription). For more details vide pp. 247-8.

(48) All these details are given in lines 3 and 4 of the Hāthīgumfā inscription. (pp. 129 & Seq. V, his account).

was also annexed, he did not become a vassal of Khārvel, because the latter did not much care about such vassalages. His coins bear the title "Vilivayakuras Viravalay."[49]

In 414 B. C. he was succeeded by his son Gautamiputra Yagnasri, the husband of Nāganikā. He ruled for 30 years, i. e. upto 384 B. C. During his time, Nand IX ruled over Magadh and Khārvel ruled over Kaling. Neither of them molested the Āndhra king, who, also on his part, kept quiet, because he remembered very well the severe defeat inflicted upon his father by Khārvel. In 392 B. C., however, Khārvel died and was succeeded by his son Vakragrīv, who, being a licentious prince, was not a match for controlling the vast empire which he inherited from his father. His empire began to dwindle gradually and southern portion became independent. Nand IX invaded the kingdom of the Āndhra king sometime about 390 to 384 B. C. Probably Gautamiputra died while fighting. If, however, the battle took place earlier than 384 B. C., he must have accepted his defeat and his coins[50] must be interpreted in the light of this fact.[51] At the time of his death, he had two sons aged eight and six respectively.[52] The reins of the government were assumed by Nāganikā. Kṛṣṇa, Śrimukh's younger brother, however, usurped the throne (Vol. II, No. 70, f. n. 146 & Nānāghāt inscr.) He had probably accepted the suzerainty at first of Nand IX, and then of Chandragupta[53]. In short, Gautamiputra was independent for a time, and a vassal king for the remaining part of his reign. Kṛṣṇa was a vassal king through out his reign.

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(49) This is our interpretation. (Vol. II, coins nos. 56, 58).

(50) Vol. II, coin no. 69.

(51) Vol. II, coin no. 70. (If that is true, the interpretation put on coin no. 71 is false). The true interpretation of the "Horse" sign depends on this.

(52) Nānāghāṭ inscription by queen Nāganikā. (Chap. IV, inscription I).

(53) Most probably Kṛṣṇa was not under the vassalage of Chandragupta, because the latter came to the throne after the former's death.

It is possible, on the other hand, that Chandragupta, while he was the lord of a small territory, fought against Kṛṣṇa and killed him. (Chronology under B. C. 373 at the end of vol. II, pp. 411).

Kṛṣṇa ruled for about ten years, i. e. upto 373 B. C. Then he was succeeded by the eldest son of Nāganikā, Vadasat Śrī Mallika Śrī Śātakarṇi by name, probably because (a) Kṛṣṇa must have died a natural death in 373 B. C. as he had reached the age of 68 years.[54] (b) or he accepted the suzerainty of Chandragupta and appealed to him to help him against the usurper[55]. (c) Again Vadsat Śrī had already attained his majority[56]. Even during the rule of Bindusār, he continued to be in the same position as long as Chāṇakya was at the helm of affairs. After Chāṇakya's removal from power, however, several kingdoms in Deccan became independent. Śātakarṇi also became independent and he subdued all the smaller kingdoms in the south. He also conquered the eastern part of Kaling and in the south he expanded his kingdom as far as the Pāṇḍyā territory. Thus, this Āndhra king was himself a vassal for the first 28 years of his reign, and he bacame the overlord of many kings for the next 28 years of his reign.

At the time of his death, Aśok was ruling over Magadh. He was succeeded by his son Mādhariputra, who ruled for about 18 years. Aśok, as we have already seen, had little time to turn his eyes towards south India. Consequently, Mādhariputra was the independent king of the whole of his inherited kingdom for all the 18 years.[57]. He died in about 299 B. C.

He was succeeded by his son Gautamiputra Skandhagupta, the six Āndhra king. He was independent like his father. When, however, Aśok was succeeded by Priyadarśin, conditions changed. After having consolidating his position in north India during the first five years of his reign, he turned his eyes towards south and got victory over Skandhgupta, consequently the Āndhra king

(54) This calculation is based on the supposition that he was two years younger than Śrimukh, who was born in 458 B. C. Further research has revealed that he died while fighting against Chandragupta. (Vide his account).

(55) All the three causes may have combined in bringing about this. F. n. no. 53 above. (Vol. II, chronology B. C. 373, pp. 411)

(56) Instances of attainment of majority at this age are Śreṇika, Priyadarśin etc.

(57) Vol. II, coin no. 59.

accepted his suzerainty and gave his daughter in marriage to him.[58] Thus, Skandhagupta was independent for the first 14 or 15 years of his rule[59] and was a vassal of Priyadarśin for the remaining 4 years.[60] He ruled for 18 years.

He was succeeded by his son Vāsiṣṭhaputra Śātakarṇi, the seventh Āndhra king. He was very eager to be free from the vassalage of Priyadarśin. Hence a terrible battle[61] took place between him and Priaydarśin; he was severely defeated[62] and continued to be a vassal upto 236-7 B. C. when Priyadarśin died.[63] Then began the decline of the Mauryan empire. Śātakarṇi became independent. Thus, for the last eleven years of his reign he was independent, and he subjugated many kings during this time. (More details about him will be given later on).

By this time, kings had begun to adopt the policy of annexing the kingdoms of defeated kings The old system of allowing the defeated king to retain his kingdom in tact, provided he accepted the suzerainty of the victor, was fast disappearing. Upto the time of Patañjali there remained some vestiges of the old system. The Śunga king Agnimitra performed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice & put an end to this system[64]. Now, we finish all details about Āndhrabhṛtyas.

From the seventh Āndhra king onwards, upto the time of king Hāl, various other kings had defeated the Āndhra kings; but the conquerors always annexed a part of their kingdoms and allowed them to rule independently over the remaining part. Hence, there remained no necessity of their being called Āndhrabhṛtyas.

Below is given a tabular summary of the Āndhrabhṛtyas.

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(58) Vol. II and IV for details about Sudarśan lake inscription.

(59) Coin no. 80.

(60) Coins nos. 63, 64.

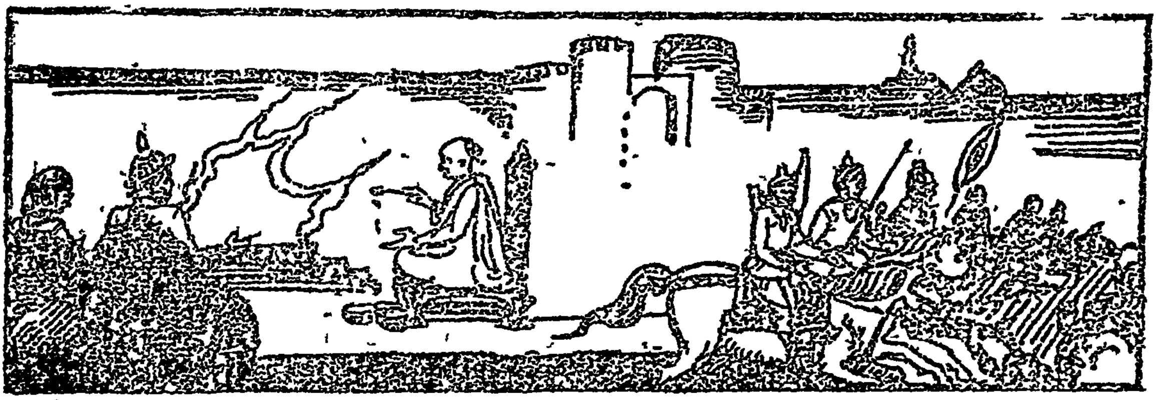
(61) Vide details about the Dhauli-Jāguḍā inscription of Priyadarśin.

(62) See the Dhauli-Jāguḍā inscription and the Sudarśan lake inscription. Further research reveals that he gave in marriage his sister and not his daughter.

(63) Coins nos. 65 and 74, 75. (A bit doubtful).

(64) Pp. 226 about calling Apilika an Āndhrabhṛtya.

No.	Name	Years	B. C. to B. C.	Under whose suzerainty
1	Śrīmukh Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi	13	427—413	Independent, though defeated by Khārvel.
2	Gautamiputra Yagnaśrī	30	413—390 = 23 390—383 = 7 30	Independent Under the vassalage of Nand IX.
	Vadsatśrī Vāsiṣṭhiputra (minor)	10 months	383—382	Under the vassalage of Nand IX.
3	Kṛṣṇa I Vāsiṣṭhiputra	10	382—372	Under the vassalage of Nand IX.
4	Vadsatśrī Mallikśrī (Nāganikā's son)	54	372—357 = 15 357—344 = 13 344—318 = 26 54	Under the vassalage of Chandragupta. " " Bindusār. Independent
5	Māḍhariputra	18	318—299	Independent
6	Gautamiputra Kṛṣṇa II Skandhagupta Śātakarṇi	18	299—285 = 14 285—281 = 4 18	Independent Under the vassalage of Priyadarśin.
7	Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi or Pulumāvi I	56	281—236 = 45 236—229 = 7 229—225 = 4 56	Under the vassalage of Priyadarśin. Independent A suzerain over others.



Chapter IV

The Śatavahana dynasty (Continued)

Synopsis:—*The capital of the Āndhras—Various theories about it—Its location.*

Combination of common titles with the names of these kings and difficulties arising from this custom—Clarification of these difficulties with the help of the family names of their mothers—Religions followed by these kings—Changes of religions by them—Religious revolutions and their effects on the people—Political changes—A comparison between Patanjali and Chāṇakya.

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY (Contd.)

Various names have been suggested as possible capitals of the Āndhras. Some of them are:—Paiṭhaṇ (Pratiṣṭhānpur,) Junner, Sopārak (sea-port), Chāndā.-Chandā[1] (Berar District), Chinur. Warrangul and Amarāotī[2] in the Nizam states, and Vijayanagar, which is situated on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in the extreme south of the Bombay Presidency. Let us now consider the claims of each of them.

Seats of the capital

When Nand II died in 427 B. C. (100 A. M.), there arose a quarrel about the succession to the throne among his nine sons, six of whom were born of kṣatriya queens and the remaining of śūdra ones. The eldest two-Śrimukh and Kṛṣṇa-left Magadh as a sign of protest against the throne being given to a kṣatriya prince, and went southwards via Chhotānāgpur. Thinking that it would be easy to defeat Khārvel of Kaling, who had recently come to the throne and who was very young, he invaded Kaling. Khārvel, however, inflicted a severe defeat upon him and forced him to retreat as far back in the south as Nāsik[3]. He settled there and founded the seat of his cadital in Paiṭhaṇ.

There are two Paiṭhaṇas. One is 25 to 30 miles on the south of Aurangābād; in the map (see at the end) it is spelt as "Pyton." Now Aurangābād itself is 80 to 100 miles on the east of Nāsik. Hence, Pyton also is at a distance of nearly 100 miles on the east of Nāsik. The other Paiṭhaṇ is 15 to 20 miles on the south-west

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(1) This city is situated on the confluence of the rivers Wardhā and Pain in the district of Berār. Amarāotī is also considered to be a possible seat of the capital. (F. n. nos. 2, 6 and 8).

(2) This Amarāotī is not situated in Berār. It is situated in the region named Dhanakaṭak. (Vol. I, pp. 149 and sequel).

Chinur is also situated on the confluence of the rivers Godāvarī and Purohit. (Purohit itself is formed by the confluence of the Vain and the Pain). Cf. f. n. nos. 1 and 8. Also cf. Vol. I, pp. 155, f. n. no. 25.

(3) This was the sacred place of pilgrimage of the Śatavahana kings. (Chap. V, inscription no. 13).

of Nāsik, In the map it is spelt as "Peinṭ". Roughly speaking Pyton is to the east & Peint to the west of Nāsik. Looking to the fact that Khārvel had given Śrimukh a hot chase from the east of Nāsik it must be concluded that he must have settled himself at Peint–a safer retreat to the west. In ancient times it was called Pratiṣṭhānpur. It is situated in a rocky region, at the foot of Mt. Triraśmi.

Scholars are, however, strongly inclined to the theory that Pyton was the seat of Śrimukh's capital. It is stated in C. A. R. Intro. pp. 39, Para 48:—"Paithan on the Godāvari in the Nizam's dominions, the ancient Pratiṣṭhānpur is in Jaina legend[4] the capital of king Sālivāhana and his son Śakti–kumara[5]." The reader will see that this extract decided in favour of Pyton, as we have stated above, about the scholars. As regards Sopārak being the possible capital of the Āndhras, little proof is available. Further research may throw some light on this point.

Now we turn to Junner, Chandā and Chinur. During the rule of Śrimukh and of his son, Gautamiputra, the district of Berar and the region of central provinces were conquered. (Details will be given later on), This territory remained under the power of the Āndhras upto about 190 B. C. when it was conquered by Agnimitra Śunga, who married Mālavikā, the daughter of the chief of Vidarbha. That means, that this territory remained under the power of the Āndhras for 250 years. Now Chandā is a large town in Berar. It is situated near Amarāotī[6], which was also probably under the power of the Āndhras. These two cities[7] and Chinur are all situated, either on the banks of the rivers Kṛṣṇā

(4) It is true that the Jaina legends contain the mention of Paiṭhaṇ or Pratiṣṭhānpur. Its situation as indicated by the author, however, is incorrect. The author ought to have mentioned the legend.

(5) Details about him are given in chap. V, inscription no. 3.

(6) Scholars hold the opinion that this Amarāotī is situated in Berār. (See f. n. no. 10 below).

(7) As a matter of fact, Chinur and Chandā are situated on the confluences of rivers; Amarāotī is not so situated. This requires further research.

and Godāvarī themselves or their tributaries[8]. There is little evidence to support Chandā or Chinur as capitals of Āndhras.

Chinur has a strong wall around it. Hence, it must have been of considerable military value to the Āndhras. In 57 B. C. Śakāri Vikramāditya was helped by the seventeenth Āndhra king, named Ariṣṭakarṇa, against the Śaka king. In a pitched battle, which was possibly fought near Chinur, Ariṣṭakarṇa killed the Śaka king. From B. C. 375 to B. C. 57 (i. e. from the fourth to the seventeenth Āndhra king), the Āndhra kingdom grew in power and prestige. This growth was, of course, checked by Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ who forced the Āndhras to vacate Paiṭhaṇ and retreat in the east[9]. But this set-back was only an exception. Chinur was no doubt a city of strategic importance from the military point of view; but there is little evidence to prove that it was the capital of the Āndhras.

Junner's chances of having been the capital of Āndhras, are greater. We learn on the authority of inscriptions that in about B. C. 114 Nahapāṇ and his son-in-law tried their best to conquer the region in which this city is situated. We should note that Peint is very near Junner. Probably the Āndhra king, who was constantly harried for six years by the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs (vide the account of Nahapāṇ, Vol III, in years numbering 40–41 and 46) took shelter in various cities like Junner, Kanheri etc. and made them temporary seats of capital. That must have been the reason, why the victors erected inscriptions in commemoration of their conquests at these places.

Later research has revealed it to me that the wars between the Āndhras and the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs were not due to political changes, because in those times kings did not hanker after the acquisition of land. Again, the Āndhras had shifted their seat of capital to Bennakaṭak as early as 414 B. C. to 360 B. C. Coins

(8) F. n. nos. 1 and 2 above. They are situated on the confluences of the Pain and the Vain. The new river formed out of it was called Purohit.

(9) It is believed that queen Balaśrī got the inscription erected in order to remove the stain of political subjection.

of the then reigning king, either Gautamiputra Yagnaśri or his son Mallikśri Śātakarṇi, are found there.[10] This also means that the inscription of queen Balaśrī also cannot be given a political interpretation (Chap. V, inscription No. 14). Most probably the wars between the Āndhras and the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs were fought due to religious causes; the inscriptions must have been erected to commemorate religious occasions, just as Priyadarśin and the Chasṭhaṇas erected so mınny for the same purpose. (Chap. VI, inscriptions Nos. 38 to 42).

Now we turn to Warrangul and Amrāoti. We have stated in Vol. I. pp. 159-60. that 25 miles from the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā there was, near Bezvāḍā, a large city[11] named Bennātaṭ-nagar, which derived its name from Bennā, another name of the Kṛṣṇā. The region surrounding Bennā was called Bennākaṭak. It was also called Dhanakatak on account of its fertility. Excavations in this region make it clear that there must have flourished there a large and prosperous city in ancient times. The things excavated are ruins of monasteries and Chityas. Śreṇik or Bimbisār stayed in this city for two or three years (B. C. 582-3) before his accession to the throne of Magadh. Khārvel of Kaling built here an edifice named Mahāvijay[12] in the fourteenth year of his reign (B. C. 416). These things show that Bennātat was large and flourishing city during the 6th and the 5th centuries B. C.

Khārvel's rule ended in 392 B. C. and his dynasty ended in 360 B. C. During these 32 years, the Mauryans conqured this region from Karvel's descendants. During the weak rule of Bindurār, however, the Āndhras

(10) C. A. I. by Cunningham, pp. 108:—"So far as my experience goes, all the coins of Andhras are found in eastern India, round about Amaravati, while all the 'Bow and Arrow' coins come from western India". This extract proves:—(a) Amarāotī is situated in eastern India, and not in Berār; (b) The founder of the Āndhra dynasty, whose sign is bow and arrow, ruled in western India only; (c) His successors gave up that sign; their coins are found in the region surrounding Amarāotī.

For more details read further.

(11) Vol. I, pp. 159 and f. n. no. 37.

(12) C. A. R. Inscription no. 45, "Records a gift to the Amaravati Tope" (Line 2; the great Chaitya).

became independent (347 B. C.), extended their territory in all directions and got hold of this region also. In order to control the affairs of such a vast kingdom, the Āndhras must have found it politically expedient to change their seat of capital to a large city in the east. This city may have been Amarāotī. We should note here that there are two Amarāotes; one is situated in Birar[13]; the other is situated near Bezwāḍā.[14] The second is meant here. It is situated in the Bennākaṭak region. (Vol. I pp. 149–160). Coins of many Āndhra kings are found in this region. Mr. V. S. Bakhle says in J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, Vol. III, " G. J. Dubrevil remarks in his 'Ancient History of Deccan.' 'when the Kshaharatas occupied North Deccan, the capital of the Satavahanas was probably Amravati on the lower course of the Krishna". Dr. Bhau Daji states J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 239, "Padumavi is called Naravara-swami (a new king) and he has also the title of the swami of Benna-katak—Bennakatak is, I believe, identical with Warrangul, the capital of the Teligana or Andhra.." General Cunningham states in his "Coins of India" pp. 108:—All the coins of Andhras are found in Eastern India round about Amravati while all the Bow and Arrow coins come from Western India." These extracts make it clear that Amrāotī was an important centre of the Āndhras.

Scholars are of the opinion that the seat of the capital was changed to Amarāotī in 114 B. C.; I on the other hand, believe that it was made the seat of the capital, in 415 B. C. or in 347 B. C. at the latest. I propose to discuss this topic in details later on.

Now, which was the seat of the capital, Warrangul or Amarāotī. I have no proofs for or against Warrangul. Proofs in support of Amarāotī have already been stated.

We now turn to Vijayanagar. In about 143 A. D. when the 27th king named Pulumāvi ruled, the Āndhras had to change their capital to this place, because a heavy defeat was inflicted upon them by Chaṣṭhaṇ and his grandson Rudradāman.

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(13) See the extract from Sir Cunningham's C. A. I. f. n. no. 10.

(14) Read the following paragraph; cf. f. n. no. 12.

In short, during the rule of the dynasty, which lasted for 700 years, the seats of capital were Paiṭhaṇ, Warrangul–Amarāoti and Vijayanagar one by one.

It is very difficult to differentiate the kings of this dynasty. This is due to the following reasons. In the first place, not all the kings of the dynasty have given their names in their coins and incriptions. They have given the names of their gotras on their mothers' sides (metronymics) and have added the common appellation Śatavahan or Śātakarṇi. (Gautamiputra Yagnaśri, Vāśiṣṭhiputra Yagnaśri etc. or Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi etc. Only in very rare cases we find distinctive titles, viz. Vilivaya–kuras and Pulumāvi Śātakarṇi.) Secondly, the time of other contemporary kings has also not been definitely fixed. For instance, we find the vague mention of Nos. 40 to 46 with Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhdatt etc. who fought against these kings. Now, we cannot say to which era these numbers belong. Probably they belong to the Śaka era, so the scholars have concluded. Calculating that way, however, they come to 118 A. D. or there about; while the real date as calculated on the bases of irrefutable evidence is 114 B. C. The same thing has happened in the case of Chasṭhan and Khārvel. Nos. 42–52 have been mentioned in connection with Chasṭhaṇ and No. 72 with his grandson Rudradāman. These numbers have been indentified with the Śaka era; hence, they have been calculated as 78+42 = 120 A. D. As a matter of fact, however, it must be calculated as 103+42 = 145 A. D. (Vol III). The same has happened in the case of Khārvel, He was a contemporary of Śrimukh and of Bṛhaspatimitra. Now, this Brhaspatimitra has been wrongly identified with Puṣyamitra, because his date could not be fixed in any other way. We have proved that there was a gap of nearly 250 years between Khārval and Puṣyamitra. Thirdly, the inscriptions are wrongly interpreted e.g. we have shown how, due to such misinterpretations, scholars believe that Rudradāman gave his daughter in marriage to Śātakarṇi.

Difficulties arising from common surnames

Of the three reasons stated above, the first is due to the kings themselves; the other two are due to the hasty interpretations of the scholars. They gleaned their evidence from Buddhist and

Vedic sources only. They seldom turned to Jaina literature—a large store-house of antiquities and historical pieces of evidence—. Coins of Vadasatśrī Śātakarṇi, Vilivayakur Śātakarṇi, Māḍhariputra Śātakarṇi, Chūṭūkānand and of Mūlānand show that they belong to very ancient times, yet their dates have been fixed otherwise in order to make them fit with certain hypothesis with which these scholars started. In the foregoing pages, we have gleaned all available evidence from Jaina, Vedic and Buddhist sources and have come to conclusions with great caution and circumspection. To those, who start with the prejudice that we are trying in these volumes to give undue prominence to Jainism, we have nothing to say except that they should peruse these pages with an unbiased mind.

Family names of their mothers: (Metronymics)

It was a custom in ancient times—as it is at present—that a person never married a girl belonging to the same family. Hence, the son, if his mother's family name is attached to his name, would always bear surname different from his father's. From this rule[15] we can deduce that Śrimukh and his younger brother Kṛṣṇa were not Gautamiputras, because Śrimukh's son Yagnaśri, the husband of Nāganikā, was a Gautamiputra. For the same reason, Nāganikā's son Vadasatśri also could not have been a Gautamiputra. The coins of Vadasatśri (Vol. II) show that he was a Vāsiṣṭhiputra. This rule, we are glad to say, has been useful to us in elucidating the details of relations between 16th, 17th, 18th, 24th and 26th kings of the dynasty.

Religious changes

We know the reason why Śrimukh left Magadh and established his own kingdom in the south. The Nandas, as we know, were Jains. Hence, there is a reason to believe that Śrimukh also was a Jain. The sign on his coins proves this. The Purāṇas tell us that during the time of the famous commentator Patañjali, these kings became converted to the Vedic religion. (Vide the account of the seventh king). It is also said that some time later on, a king of this dynasty

(15) Vol. II, pp. 10. We have discussed there the question why Lord Buddha was called Gautam.

became a follower of the Vedic religion and started the Śaka Śālivāhana era. We have no reason to disbelieve the Purāṇas. Hence, we conclude that these kings were originally Jains; but twice during the rule of the dynasty, some kings became followers of the Vedic religion.

Let us go into details about this. A glance at the list on pp. 256 shows that the 1st, 2nd and the 5th Āndhra kings were quite independent. The 3rd, 4th, 6th and 7th were independent for some time and vassals for the rest of time. These four kings were under the vassalage of the Nanda or the Maurya kings of Magadh, both of whom, as we have already proved, were Jains. Hence, their vassals must necessarily have been Jains. Thus, we can say that the first seven kings of the dynasty were Jains.

The seventh Āndhra king was very ambitious. He had come to the throne at a very early age and his reign lasted for 55 to 56 years. For the first 45 years of his rule he had to be under the vassalage of Priyadarśin, a staunch follower of Jainism. So long as Priyadarśin was alive, he could not lift his head, either against his sovereignty or against Jainism. At this time, only Jainism was widely prevalent in India; Buddhism was on its way to decline[16]. The Vedic religion also had paled into dimness before Priyadarśin's ardour for Jainism.[17] Queen Tisyarakṣitā's incident was too fresh in the minds of the people to allow any revival of Buddhism. When Priyadarśin died in 236 B. C., the Āndhra king at once approached Patañjali, appointed him the royal preceptor, became a convert to the Vedic religion and set all possible machinery into motion for the widest possible spread of the Vedic religion in south India. He began to perform the Aśvamedha sacrifices, against which in the 6th century B. C. Buddha and Mahāvīr

(16) Historians believe that only Buddhism had stretched far and wide in India. This belief is based on the theory that most of the inscriptions and pillars have been erected by Aśok. We have, however, proved that most of them have been erected by Priyadarśin, a Jaina emperor. Hence, the followers of Buddhism must have been comparatively few.

(17) Read f. n. no. 16.

strongly protested and for preventing the killing of innocent animals in which, they founded Buddhism and Jainism.

In north India, also, time was opportune for the spread of the Vedic religion and for the decline of the hitherto powerful Jainism. Priyadarśin was succeeded by his eldest son named Vṛṣabhsen, a prince of very excitable temperament. After coming to the throne, he gave the method of peaceful persuasion in matters of religion—a method devoutly and unflinchingly followed by his father—and began to oppress the non-Jains. He also quarreled with his relatives. Anarchy prevailed everywhere. The vast empire established by Priyadarśin began to disintegrate rapidly. Within a short period of five to seven years, there remained only a shadow of the former empire and Jainism was fast on its way to decline. Śātakarṇi invaded Avanti. Vṛṣabhsen was killed in the battle. Śātakarṇi became the suzerain and Vṛṣabhsen's son or brother was given the throne of Avanti under his vassalage.[18] In order to ensure his rule there, he appointed his general Puṣyamitra, a Brahmin[19], as the commander-in-chief. To top all, he performed his second Aśvamedha sacrifice also in Avanti.[20], and made the people of Avanti pay for it.[21] Then he returned to his kingdom and a year and a half later, died.

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(18) It seems, that upto this time kings had no greed for increasing their territories.

(19) Puṣyamitra is said to have been born in the region near the source of the Godāvarī near Paiṭhaṇ. That supports this conclusion. Hence, the revival of Vedic religion began in this region, because Patañjali also was born here. This region is called "South Gaud or Gonard".

The territory of Pāla kings, on the other hand, is called Eastern Gauḍ in Behār.

(20) C. H. I. pp. 530–531:—"Twice it appears had Satkārni proclaimed his suzerainty by the performance of the horse–sacrifice; and on one of these occasions at least, the victory thus celebrated must have been at the expense of the Sungas". (We know that the Śungas were, in the first instance, the commander–in–chief of the Mauryas).

(21) The pillar–edict in commemoration of the victory is a testimony to this. Vide the above f. n. No. 20.

Patañjali was now left alone. Having, however, a resourceful mind at his command, he repaired to Avanti where his friend Pusyamitra was at the helm of affairs. He selected this time Avanti as the centre of his activity, because it was the cultural and political centre of India in those times. We know how Bṛhadrath, the last Mauryan emperor was killed (Vol. II). Then began the rule of the Śunga dynasty and Patañjali with the help of Pusyamitra and his son Agnimitra, began to work fiercely for the spread of, the Vedic religion and for the repression of Jainism. Thus, we see that there was a revival of the Vedic religion, first in south India, and then in north India. The successors of the seventh Āndhra king, for several generations to come were the followers of the Vedic religion.

Now, it has also been stated that the 26th (or 24th) king of the dynasty became a convert to the Vedic religion, and founded the Śaka era (Vide his account). This means that somewhere between the 7th and 26th kings, the Vedic religion was given up in favour of Jainism, which was again given up by the 26th king. Let us try to find out when this change took place.

We have stated in the account of the Śunga dynasty (Vol. III, pp. 70) that Balabhānu, the nephew of Balamitra–Bhānumitra, was converted to Jainism by his maternal uncle Kāliksūri[22], the famous Jaina monk. Enraged at this, Bhānumitra ordered Kāliksūri to leave Avanti in the midst of the rainy season. Hence, the monk left Avanti and went to Pratisthānpur in the south. There he had a great following, on account of his learnedness aed persuasive talent. This happened in about A. M. 375=B. C. 152[23]. A glance at the dynastic list of the Āndhras will show that the 11th Āndhra king Meghsvāti by name was on the throne at this time. This

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(22) Ārya Mahāgiri was the 9th successor of Mahāvīr, the 10th was Ārya Sûhastiji, the preceptor of Priyadarśin (A. M. 246 to 292, B. C. 281 to 235= 46 years). The eleventh in an offshoot was Guṇasundarsūri, A. M. 291 to 335= B. C. 236 to 192=44 years. The 12th in succession was Kāliksūri or Śyāmāchārya, A. M. 335 to 376=B. C. 192 to 151=41 years. Some believe that his time was A. M. 386 to 396.

(23) See f. n. no. 22 above.

means that king No. 7 to 11 of this dynasty were followers of the Vedic religion. The 11th king, however, became a convert to Jainism under the preceptorship of Kāliksūri. Hence, all the kings from 11 to 25 (or 23) were followers of Jainism. Their coins support this view-point (Vol. II, Chap. on coins).

Details of the religious swing towards the Vedic religion which took place during the rule of Śivasvāti Śātakarṇi, the 25th (or 23rd) king will be given in his account. It may be stated here that the Vedic religion continued to be the religion of these kings, from this time onwards to the end of the dynasty.

In short, the first seven kings were followers of Jainism (427 B. C. to 230 B. C.). The Vedic religion was in power from the latter part of the reign of the 7th king, upto the rule of the 10th king. Then, from the rule of the 11th king, Jainism was revived and remained in power up to the rule of the 22nd king (B. C. 160 to 78 A. D.). Then again, it was superceded by the Vedic religion, which ruled supreme to the end of the dynasty. Thus, out of 675 years (B. C. 427 to 261 A. D.) for which the rule of the dynasty lasted, Jainism remained in power for 425 years and the Vedic religion for 250 years.

We have stated above, how Vedic religion was first revived in south India, and from thence spread into north India also. What were the consequences of this change?

The result of the religious changes

As a rule, when one religion is superceded by another, its relics are destroyed or molested by the followers of the religion which is in power. Such destructions and molestations must have taken place during the rules of the 7th, 11th and 23rd kings. We have some evidence at our disposal to give details of such changes that took place during the rule of the 7th king. Details of the changes that might have taken place during the rules of the two other kings, we leave to the scholars to find out.

We know that right from the beginning of the dynasty upto the 45th year of the rule of the 7th king, Jainism was followed (Vol. II, coin no. 62). What was the reason of the change to the Vedic religion at the time, It is possible that his severe defeat at

the hands of Priyadarśin near the place of the Dhauli–Jāgudā[24] inscription, must have given rise in his mind to antagonism against the religion followed by Priyadarśin. He must have nourished that antagonism upto the death of Priyadarśin, and then have given full vent to it. That was why, under the preceptorship of Patañjali, he became a convert to the Vedic religion and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. He also sowed the seeds of this religion in Avanti by leaving Puṣyamitra at the helm of affairs there.

We know that Priyadarśin had got erected a very large number of rock–edicts, pillar–edicts, idols and Chaityas to commemorate and preserve for a long time the tenets of Jainism. When Agnimitra Śunga ascended the throne, he began a fierce destruction of these relics with a view to destroying Jaina culture for ever. The Jains concealed many of their idols by burying them under ground and emigrated in large numbers from the Śunga kingdom in order to escape persecution. This is the reason why Mewār, which was under the power of the Śungas, has at present no Jaina relic to show; while Jodhpur, Jesalmir, Bikāner and the region on the west of Aravalli hills are full of such relics, because these regions did not form parts of the Śunga kingdom. This is also the reason why we get only broken idols in the region of Mālwā.[25] The Śungas had destroyed and melted out the silver and gold idols[26] and had left the stone ones to themselves. Agnimitra did not do much harm to rock and pillar edicts because he had nothing to gain from them in terms of gold and silver. Even then, he caused the lions at the top of the pillars to be removed and destroyed, because the Lion is the symbol of Jainism. Even from the Stūpas, he removed every scrape of gold and silver. He seems to have burnt all the Jaina books wherever he found them. Thus, only by a freak of fortune, the Stūpas like Bhilsā and Sāñchī escaped mostly unhurt, Jaina monks also were ruthlessly persecuted; hence they also

(24) Vol. II, pp. 277. The details of the battle are given in the Dhauli–Jāgudā inscription.

(25) The ruins of Devgaḍh and Ābu date from 5th to 7th centuries A. D.

(26) Vol. III, pp. 54–56.

emigrated to Rājputānā and Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra. Agnimitra had got a declaration circulated that any one, who would cut off the head of a Jaina monk would be given a prize of one hundred gold coins. Thus, for a century and a half[27] after the death of Priyadarśin there ensued a period of darkness[28] for Jainism. Those Jains who emigrated to other countries performed many religious rites[29] for the preservation of Jainism. One of the rites was to repeat a verse ten million or crore times. Those who performed this rite were called "Kroḍinyas[30]", a term which is often found in the rock-inscriptions. Not satisfied with these atrocities, Agnimitra invaded the region of Mathurā and destroyed the Voḍvā Stūpa[31] and the temple of Śrī Kṛṣṇa[32]. Then he went to Pāṭliputra to demolish the seven gold hillocks and died there. Details have already been given in his account (Vol. II).

There is one thing to the credit of Agnimitra. We know that the Magadha empire had begun to disintegrate rapidly and that the disunion and anarchy were rampart everywhere. The foreign invaders (particularly Demetrius and Menander) saw their opportunity and began their onslaughts on India. This tide of foreign invasion, however, was checked[33] by Agnimitra, who was very ambitious and who wanted to be the emperor of India.

Things were very quiet in south India. Kings there were peace-loving and were followers of the Vedic religion. They had, as we know, friendly relations with Avanti.

Patañjali, as we have seen, played a prominent part in the

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(27) Vol. III, pp. 36 to 43 with their footnotes.

(28) This alludes to the dark period of Jainism set in, after the deaths of Priyadarśin and Ārya Suhastin.

(29) The successors of Mahāvīr at this time were Susthit and Supratibaddha. They were called "Kauḍinyas".

(30) "Bhārhut Stūpa" by Sir Cunningham.

(31) The queen-consort of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul re-installed the stūpa, after a lapse of 60 to 65 years. Vide his account in vol. III.

(32) This shows that the temple of Śrī Kṛṣṇa belonged to Jainism.

(33) Vide the account of Kṣaharāṭa Nahapāṇ and foreign invaders in vol. III.

field of religion by reviving the Vedic religion. His part in the political field was no less prominent. In order to awaken the greed for the acquisition of land, he made Agnimitra perform two Aśvamedha sacrifices. He was not, however, as successful in the political field as he was in the religious field. He incited Pusyamitra and Agnimitra to murder Bṛhadrath. The defeated king, according to him was not to be given his throne back[34].

Political changes

Agnimitra married Mālavikā, the daughter of the chief of Vidarbha and annexed his kingdom also. It was he, who brought about the disappearance of the terms "Āndhrabhṛtya" and "Śungabhṛtya" in order to establish imperialism. Unfortunately no coins of the Śunga kings have as yet been found out. It is probable that their coins have been excavated but have not been identified[35]. Pandit Jayaswālji has tried to identify some coins as belonging to Pusyamitra—Agnimitra, but no conclusive piece of evidence has as yet been found out.

Patañjali & Kauṭalya; a comparison

Three names, Pāṇini, Kautalya and Patañjali; arise from the dim depths of antiquity, to the forefront. All the three were Brāhmins by birth and were highly learned. Of these three, Pāṇini confined himself to academic activities only. Chāṇakya & Patañjali, on the other hand, were ambitious and plunged themselves into political activities. Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was a devout pupil of Chāṇakya. He was a Jain. Patañjali, on the other hand, was a devout follower of the Vedic religion, and so were his disciples, the Āndhra king and Agnimitra. Chāṇakya's political wisdom was much greater than that of Patañjali. Both dealt a deadly blow to the system of re-establishing the defeated

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(34) Priyadarśin never annexed the kingdom of any defeated king. He gave them their thrones back as his vassals. (Vol. II, appendix on Sudarśan lake inscriprion). This system began to disappear from the time of the Śunga kings. No wonder it is, that it had completely disappeared by the time of Rudradāman, who flourished nearly 250 years later. The Sudarśan lake inscription, therefore, refers to Priyadarśin only.

(35) Paṇḍit Jayasvālji is now dead.

king on the throne as a vassal king and tried to establish the system of annexing the kingdom of the defeated king. Chāṇakya spent the last years of his life in retirement, while Patañjali was actively engaged in political activities right upto the time of his death. Chāṇakya took many measures to alleviate the condition of the masses, while Patañjali's contribution to this field was nil. Chāṇakya believed in the method of compromise and was a successful organizer. His famous treatise on economics is an eloquent testimony to his ability for organizing and to his love for rule and order in every branch of life. Patañjali's life was clouded by religious fanaticism of the extreme kind. Patañjali has been reputed as a greater scholar than Chāṇakya. That, however, is doubtful. There is reason to believe that many of his treatises in various branches of knowledge have yet not been known to the world.



Chapter V

Inscriptions

Synopsis:—*Inscriptions and coins supply irrefutable evidence with regard to ancient history. As regards coins, full details have already been given in Vol. II. I propose to devote two chapters here to a full and detailed study of some of the inscriptions. It should be noted that sometimes a single inscription throws light on various historical points and helps to clarify a number of moot questions. Hence these two chapters on inscriptions.*

Extracts have been mainly quoted from Dr. Rapson's "Coins of Āndhra Dynasty" Our views have been stated upon them.

INSCRIPTIONS

(1) Nānāghāṭ

C. A. R. Intro. pp. 45, para 57:—"The inscription is a record of sacrifices performed and of donations made, to the sacrificing brahmans. It is set up by queen Nāganikā, the wife of king Śri-Śātakarṇi, acting apparently as regent during the minority of her son, Veda Śri". Dr. Rapson has prepared the following table in order to clarify the relations between the persons whose names are mentioned in the inscription:—

Rāyā Simukho Śātavāhano | Kalalāya-Mahāraṭhi Angiya Kulavadhan Mahāraṭhi[1] Tranakayiro

Dakṣiṇāpāthapati Siri Śātakani = Nāganikā

Vedasiri | Śati-Sirimata Haku Siri

As regards the time of the inscription, he says on pp. 19 of intro. para 21, on the authority of Dr. Buhler:—"According to the epigraphical evidence, those documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśarath's edicts. But, what in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is, that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nāsik inscription, No. I of Kaṇha or Kṛṣṇa's reign". In J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. Vol. III, pp. 47, it is stated:—"The inscription at Nanaghat is by the queen of Satakarni, the third king of this dynasty (A. S. W. I. 5. pp. 68), who according to Buhler's inscription, was the son of Simukha. The alphabet of Nanaghat agrees with that of Hathigumpha (J. B. O. R. S. III, pp. 112). This justifies the identification of Satakarani mentioned therein with Satakarani of Nanaghat, that is No. 3 of Pargiter's list". The same writer states later on, (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III, 1928, pp. 83); "Nanaghat inscription by mother Naganika is dated in the 13th year[2] (regnal year) of Vasisthiputra"

(1) For details about these names vide chap VI.

(2) The author has not given any proof. Vide the account of Vadsatśri for the proof.

As regards the time of the inscription we agree with Dr. Rapson and with the author of J. B. B. R. A. S. We differ, however, in one point. They hold the opinion that the performers of the religious rites were brahmaṇas. The original word in the inscription might have been "Bamaṇa", which means "one who leads a celebate life". Persons other than the brahmaṇas observed this vow in those times. The donations were made to such persons. The incidents referred to in the inscription date 383 B. C. The inscription itself was prepared in 372 B. C.

Now we turn to some details about Nāganikā : (1) As regards Kalalāya Mahārathi, it is stated in C. A. R. Para 26, that his whole title must have been Sadakan Kalalāya Mahārathi, as it is found in the coins of Chittaldurg in Mysore. (Vol. II, Nos. 47–48); (2) Angikulavardhan (Sanskṛt) should be interpreted as Angiya kulavardhan. "Anga" one of the trio of Anga, Vanga and Kaling, commonly known as Trikaling. Dr. Rapson believed that Anga was the same as the districts of Bhāgalpur and Mongir in Bengal. We have, however, shown in vol. I, and while discussing the marriage of Agnimitra with Mālavikā of Vidarbha in vol. III, that Berār was a part of Anga. Nāganikā's father was the ruler of this region. We shall prove this in the account of Gautamiputra Yagnaśri. In short, the Mahārathes were rulers of Anga and hence were called Angiyakulavardhan; (3) "Traṇakiyaro" : the first part means "Trātā", the protector. These Mahārathes of Anga, it will be now seen, were connected with the rulers of Anga, just as Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand were connected with the Nandas.

(2) Nāsik

C. A. R. Intro. pp. 46, para 23 : " King Kṛiṣṇa of the Śātavāhana race; undated."

Dr. Rapson has stated in para 22, pp. 19 of the Intro. on the authority of Dr. Buhler that the inscription was erected at the time when the Maurya dynasty ended and the Śunga dynasty began. In para 23, however, he states:—" The names and the order of succession of the first three Āndhra kings are correctly given by the Purāṇas, viz. (1) Simukh, (2) Kṛṣṇa, (3) Śri Śātakarṇi. It is probable, too, as stated both in the Bhāgavat and in the

Viṣṇu Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa was the brother of Śimukh." We agree with Dr. Rapson.

(3) Nāsik

C. A. R. Intro. pp. 46:—"Possibly containing the name of king Śakti-Śri." The words are indistinct and hence doubtful. But Mr. Stenart suggests that the reading may have been Mahahakusiri (nāti)ya Bhaṭapālikāya = (Bhatipālika = grand-daughter) of Mahā-hakusiri."

Dr. Rapson has identified this Hakusiri with the one, which is mentioned in inscription No. 1. and has stated in para 25, pp. 20:—"It is quite possible that Śakti-Śri may have come to the throne subsequently and that he may be identified with the Mahā-Haku Siri the great 'Śakti Śri' who is mentioned in an undated inscription at Nāsik. It is possible also, as Buhler has suggested, that he may have been the historical of the Śakti-kumara of Jaina begend." In short, he has identified Śati-Sirimat Hakusiri of No. 1 with Mahā-Hakusiri of No. 3, and has come to the conclusion that this Sirimat Hakusiri may have succeeded his brother Vedsiri on the throne, and that this Mahā-Hakusiri may have been the same as Śakti-kumār of the Jaina legend[3].

[Note:—Hakusiri of No. 1 has no connection with Mahā-Hakusiri. They were different individuals. The very words in the inscriptions differ. This has been accepted as true by Dr. Rapson and Stenart. Again Hakusiri of No. 1 never came to the throne and hence the title "Mahā" cannot be joined with his name. Mahā-Hakusiri, on the other hand, was a valorous king and earned his title by numerous brave deeds. His time was the beginning of the first century A. D. (Inscr. no. 13) He seems to have figured prominently in Jaina literature.

In regard to the syllable "Ha" in Mahā-Hakusiri, Dr. Rapson says[4] "In the Dravidian Prakrit of the Andhras, ha=Śkt. Śa. Thus

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(3) Its time is believed to be 2nd century B. C., when the rule of the Śunga dynasty began. This inscription contains allusions to the grand daughter of this Mahā-Hakusiri and hence he believed that its time must be (two generations later) the end of the 1st century B. C. (C. A. R. pp. 46, no. 3).

(4) C. A. R. pp. 20, f. n. no. 3.

Haku=Sakti, Hāla=Śala (Śāta)[5]; probably also Hiru=Sri, Hātakam=Śātakarni." The derivation of Hala Śātakarṇi is thus a mere conjecture.]

(4) **Bhilsā-Sāñchī**

Stupa No. 1. (General Cunningham's "Bhilsā Topes, pp. 214, 264, Plate no. 19).

C. A. R. pp. 47 & para 29, pp. 23:—" The inscription as it stands in Cunningham's eye-copy is evidently incorrect." There is no other way to identify it. It tells us of the donations made by some one during the rule of Vāsisthiputra Śatakarṇi. " Dr. Buhler, indeed proposed to identify him with Śri-Satkarni of the Nanaghat[6] and Hathigumfa inscriptions on the ground that the alphabet of the Bhilsa inscription showed similar characteristics." Then, he states his own opinion:—"If this identification could be established we should have good reason, although not conclusive reason, for believing that Bhilsa (Vidisa) the capital of the province of East Malwa (Akara) was in the possession of the Andhra at a date (cir. 16 B. C.) when it is generally supposed to have belonged to the Sunga dynasty." This shows that he does not agree with Dr. Buhler in all points. In connection with the time of this inscription, it is stated in C. H. I. pp. 533:-"An inscription (No. 346) on one of the Bhilsa Topes, Sanchi No. 1, records a donation made in the reign of a Satkarni, who cannot be identified more precisely but who must certainly have been an Andhra. The inscription is not dated, but there is now a general concensus among archeologists that it probably belongs to about the middle of the first century B. C."

[Note:—Some deductions about the time of an inscription

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(5) Chap. I above, about the descriptions of Śāta and Śālivāhan and further about Hāla Śālivāhan.

(6) There are two inscriptions at Nānāghāṭ, one by queen Nāganikā, (No. 1) and the other by Chatrapaṇ Śātakarṇi (No. 18). It is not clear which of the two is referred to here. The words "Vāsisthiputra Śātakarṇi" suggest that no. 18 is referred to here. The reference, however, to Nānāghāṭ and Hāthīgumfā at the same time, suggests that no. 1 is referred to here, which was erected in the 4th century B. C. No. 18 was erected in the 2nd century A. D,

can certainly be made from the script. But that would not be the whole and irrefutable evidence. We have seen above how Dr. Buhler's conclusions based on the script only, have been proved wrong. (No. 1 and No. 3).

It is not probable that the city of Bhilsā came under the power of the Āndhras, because as he himself states, the region in which Bhilsā is situated, was under the power of the Śungas at the time of the inscription. Again, we shall prove later on, that Avantī never was under the power of the Āndhras. Once, one king of the dynasty had an opportunity to establish his power over Anvantī, but at that time the system being to re-establish the defeated king on the throne, he returned to Andhra. (Vide the account of No. 7).

As a matter of fact, the Bhilsā Stūpa tells us that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi mentioned in it is the same as Hāla Śātakarṇi. He is also known as Pulumāvi and as Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi. (Vol. II, Chap. on coins. Vide his account in this Vol.). He flourished in the beginning of the 1st century A. D. This king as well as two or three of his predecessors had very friendly relations with the Gardabhila kings of Avantī, and they helped one another in times of difficulty. One such occasion, there was during the time of Śakāri Vikramāditya. Another occasion is found in the account of Vikramacharitra Gardabhil. Details about this are given in Jaina literature Both the kings once went together to Mt. Śatrunjay in Saurāṣṭra on a religious occasion. We have proved in Vol. 1, that the region about Bhilsā is closely connected with Jainism. In the account of Chandragupta Maurya, we have stated that he gave a large sum in donation in order to provide for a row of lamps on the Sāñchī Stūpa. In short, Bhilsā and Sāñchī are sacred places for the Jains. Hence, it is quite in the fitness of things that Śātakarṇi[7], referred to in this inscription, may have

(7) The inscription tells us that an artisan gave a sum of money in charity. The words "during the reign of Śātakarṇi" point to the fact that the artisan was the subject of the Śātakarṇi king. Now Śātakarṇi never ruled in Avanti. Probably he was present at the place of inscription.

gone to Bhilsā and an artisan named Ānand may have given a sum of money in charity with his permission and in his presence. Thus, the details supplied by the inscription are supported by Jaina literature. As regards *time*, Dr. Rapson states:—"On the whole, it appears more probable that Buhler was mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription, and that this king Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni is to be identified with one of several Satakarnis who appear later in the Purañik lists."]

(5-6) Kanheri

Both have been prepared by Māṭhariputra Svāmi Śakasen during the 8th year of his reign, on the 10th day of the hot season (summer).

Details about Māṭhariputra will be given later on. First, we note the details about Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi as given in paragraphs 34, 35. He got his own portrait-head imprinted on the coins of Nahapāṇ. Dr. Rapson, therefore, believes that he had defeated[8] Nahapāṇ. Then he says in connection with Vilivāyakur Gautamiputra ......"which cannot be absolutely proved of the great Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, the conqueror of Nahapana with the Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura of the coins found at Kolhapur......The evidence of re-struck coins[9] shows that this king was preceded in this district by (1) Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakura and (2) Māthariputra Sivalakura". In short, according to him, Gautamiputra who imprinted his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ, was different from Gautamiputra Vilivāyakur. Again, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakur and Māṭhariputra Śivalkur were predecessors of these two Gautamiputras.

In paragraph 35, it is stated about Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakur:—"His position as predecessor of Māṭhariputra and Gautamiputra".

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(8) This does not mean that Nahapāṇ himself was defeated by Gautamiputra. Nahapāṇ's son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta had inflicted a severe defeat on the predecessors of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. In order to wipe off the stain of this defeat, he exterminated the Śakas and the Kṣaharāṭas and superprinted his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ. Details about this will be given in the account of Balaśrī.

(9) The term "Re-struck" gives us a false impression. The right term ought to be "Super-struck".

Thus, the first to flourish was Vāsiṣṭhiputra; then came Māṭhariputra, and then Gautamiputra. In paragraph 36, it is stated, "Māṭhariputra Śivalkur of Kolhapur coins". In paragraph 37, he says:—"If the identification of the Gautamiputra Vilivāyakur with the great Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi may be assumed[10], the re-struck coins would prove that he was the successor of Māṭhariputra". To sum up the details given in paragraphs 34, 35, 36 & 37:—The first was Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakur, the next was Māṭhariputra Śivalakur and the last was Gautamiputra Vilivāyakur or Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi the Great. In the dynastic list given in chap. II, the numbers of these kings are 4, 5 and 17 respectively. If the two Gautamiputras mentioned last were different individuals (see f. n. 10) then one Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Vilivāyakur will be the second in the list. There are many pieces of evidence to prove this.

(7) Nāsik

Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, 18th year, 2nd fortnight of the rainy season, 1st day.

The following extract will be found useful:—"Gautamiputra Śri Śatakarṇi, lord of Benā-kataka in Govardhana sends from the camp of victory of the army at Vaijayanti an order to the effect that a certain field formerly in the possession of Ṛṣabhadatta[11] (Nahapāṇ's son-in-law) shall be secured to the monks of the Tri-raśmi mountain". This shows that before the eighteenth year of his reign, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi of Bennākaṭak had established his power over the region around the mount in Govardhan. Dr. Rapson states[12] further:—"There can be little doubt in any case, that it indicates the recent transfer of the government in the Nasik district[13] from the Ksaharātas to the Andhras."[14] We do not agree with

(10) The subjunctive mood is used here, because according to him (para 34) the two Gautamiputras were different individuals.

(11) This proves that Ṛṣabhadatta lived before Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. Cf. f. n. nos. 14 and 26.

(12) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 48.

(13) Both Govardhan and mount Tri-raśmi are included in the modern district of Nāsik.

(14) F. n. no. 11 above and f. n. no. 26 below.

this view. The very phrase "Lord of the Bennākaṭak in Govardhan" proves that the transfer of power had taken place long ago. The order indicates only the appropriation of the revenue of the field for the maintenance of the monks at Tri-raśmi. It should be noted that the battle with Kṣaharāṭas and the Śakas need not be believed to have taken place at Nāsik, just because the inscription is there. Neither should it be believed that the battle took place in the same year, in which the inscription was erected. The Purāṇas state that the battle took place in Kaling—the battle in which the Śaka king was killed. (Vide the account of No. 17). It took place in 57-6 B. C. The inscription was naturally erected sometime later (4 years). The very phrase, " The lord of Bennākatak orders " shows that he had become the master of Govardhan a long time since. Thus, this inscription has little to do with the time or place of the extermination of the Śakas.

(8) Nāsik

By Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi; during the 22nd year of his reign, summer season, 2nd fortnight, 10th day. The second part of the same inscription was finished in the 24th year monsoon, 4th fortnight, 5th day.

This inscription also refers to the field mentioned in No. 7 above. Dr. Rapson in C. A. R. pp. 48 states:-"This is an order of the king to be communicated to Śyāmaka, the minister in Govardhana, in the name of the king Gautamiputra and of the king's queen mother, whose son is living. The name of this queen, Balaśri is known from her inscription dated in the year, 19th of the reign of her grandson Pulumavi (Inscr. No. 13.)." This extract means that Balaśrī was the mother of Gautāmiputra, and that she had, besides Gautamiputra, another son who was elder than Gautamiputra[15] and who was alive at the time of inscription. The reason why he did not come to the throne though he was elder, is not known[16]. We do not know for how many years Gautamiputra

(15) Had this son been younger, there would have been no necessity to refer to him here, or he must have been referred to in different terms.

(16) For the reason why this eldest son did not come to the throne, vide his account.

was alive after this inscription was completed. No coin or inscription is available to shed light on this point. Scholars have come to the conclusion that he must have died a few years later, and was succeeded by Pulumāvi, the grandson[17] of Balaśrī. During the 19th year of the rule of this grandson, Balaśrī erected inscription No. 13[18].

Both Nos. 7 and 8 have been erected by the orders of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. In the case of No. 7, however, the king issued his order from his military camp at Vaijayanti. This means that he was not present at the place of the inscription. It was erected during the 18th regnal year. No. 8 was erected during the 24th regnal year. We do not know from which place he issued the order for No. 8. We have stated above that he lived only a few years after the completion of No. 8. It may be, he might have issued this order from his capital where he may have been lying in bed[19] due to some illness. Dr. Rapson[20] seems to support this view, "It is quite possible that some cause, such as failure of health in his later years, may have led to the association of queen Balaśri in the Government." There is no piece of evidence, however, to support the view that Balaśrī was ever actively engaged in the affairs of the government. The phrase "whose son is living" cannot be interpreted in the sense[21] that the king was about to die. Again, Pulumāvi, the heir to the throne, had already attained majority. Hence, there was no need for Balaśrī to make herself busy with the affairs of government. That was the reason why she used the words "In the name of king Gautamiputra."[22]

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(17) We have to find out, whether he was the son of Gautamiputra or of his elder brother. Probably he was the son of the elder brother.

(18) For reasons, read further.

(19) It is a custom among Hindus to give something in charity at the time of death. It seems that he died a short time after issuing this order. His mother issued the order in the king's name.

(20) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 48.

(21) I. e.

(a) 'In the name of the king Gautamiputra, but by the queen-mother or by king's mother'.

(b) 'Whose son is living'.

(22) These words show that there was no council.

(9) Kārle

By Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, during the 18th regnal year, monsoon, 4th fortnight, first day.

The following extract gives us good information about the inscription[23]:—It places on record an edict sent to the minister in charge of Māmāḍa (line 1) or Māmāla (line 2), no doubt the name of the Āhāra in which Karle was situated......The edict grants to the monks, living in the caves of Valūraka the village of Karajaka[24] in the Māmāla district."

We may note here that only two fortnights after the order for No. 7, this order was issued. This order thus, also was issued from Vaijayanti. So far we agree with scholars. Now we turn to points where we differ from scholars. Nāsik, the place of No. 7 and Kārle, the place of No. 9 are very near each other, but are in different districts. The former is in Govardhan while the latter is in Māmād or Māmāl. Probably Māmād is the same as Manamād the junction of the G. I. P. Railway. The term Valūraka suggests the term "Elora." The reason why we suggest this interpretation is that Gautamiputra was a Jain, and he gave a donation to to monks residing in caves and doing penance there and there was a Gautamiputra pillar erected there. (For illustration see at the end). The scenes in Kārle and Elorā (cave) belong to Jainism.

One more point. A scholar has said:—The present edict was also issued by Gautamiputra Śatakarni as a result of his victory over Nahapan". This means that the orders for Nos. 7 and 9 were issued after his victory over Nahapāṇ[25]. As a matter of fact, Nahapāṇ was long since dead, and Śātakarṇi achieved this victory over the Kṣaharātas many years later[26], and then got this inscription erected in commemoration of his victory.

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(23) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 49.

(24) Is it the modern Karjat station of the G. I. P. Railway?

(25) Cf. f. n. nos. 14 and 26,

(26) Vide their accounts for their times. (Nahapāṇ died in B. C. 74; Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi achieved his conquest in B. C. 52–53. So there is an interval of 22–21 years).

(10) Amarāvati

By Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmiśri Pulumāvi; the date has disappeared. "Records a gift to the Amrāvati Top." (line 2; Mahāchaitya= the great Chaitya).

This Mahāchaitya is the same as that which Khārvel got built at the expense of 35 lacs of coins, in Bennātaṭnagar on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā. (For details vide his account). Our conclusions about this Mahāchaitya are thus supported by the Amarāvati Stūpa. Dr. Pāndyā, the scholar engaged by the Orissa Government to publish the History of Kaling (Orissa) consulted us on this point. We had, however, not come upon this piece of evidence at that time and hence had replied that he ought to go through the account of Khārvel given by us. This inscription, however, proves that both Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhiputra and Khārvel were followers of Jainism. The coins of Śātakarṇi kings also support this view. It will be seen now, that the belief, that the Amarāvatī Stūpa[27] is not connected with Jainism is a false one, and that Amarāvati or Bennātaṭnagar was a flourishing city upto the first century A. D.

(11–12) Nāsik

Both by Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. The first was erected in the 2nd year, winter, 4th fortnight, 6th or 8th day. The second was erected in the 6th year, summer, 5th fortnight, first day.

There is nothing particular about these two inscriptions. No. 11 contains the words "Svāmiśri" and "Pulumai" No. 12 contains "Śri Pulumāyī."

(13) Nāsik

By Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pulumāvi, 19th year, summer, 2nd fortnight, 13th day.

This insctiption is very important. It sheds much light on the life of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and on that of his successor Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi. It has been erected by a common relative of both and so the information supplied by it is reliable. Dr. Rapson

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(27) Cf. vol. I, pp. 294, f. n. no. 78.

says:—"This is an inscription of Queen Gautamiputra Balaśri,[28] the mother of Gautami Śri-Śātakarṇi and the grandmother of Pulumavī the Lord of Deccan[29]...It records the donation of a cave[30] by Queen Balaśrī to the Buddhist[31] monks of the Bhadāvaniya[32] school dwelling on mount Tri-raśmi[30] and of the gift of Pulumāvi of the

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(28) In Jaina literature (K. S. S. Com. pp. 128) there is an allusion to a discussion that took place at the court of "Rāṇāśrī Balaśrī". This Rāṇāśrī Balaśrī and Rāṇiśri (queen) Balaśrī seem to have flourished at the same time. This requires further research.

(29) Vide chap. XI, for the distinction between Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar and Dakṣiṇāpathpati.

(30) From the time, when Chandragupta became a Jaina monk and began to travel with his preceptor Bhadrabāhu, Jaina monks began to stay in large numbers in the hilly region near the sources of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta, who were Jains, fought many battles to conquer Junner, Paiṭhaṇ, Nāsik and Kaṇherī and other religious places of theirs. Cf. the details about Ābhirs and Trikūṭakas in vol. III. Śrīvajrasvāmi, the 10th successor of Śrī Bhadrabāhu, and his successors frequented (f. n. no. 37 below) mount Triraśmi. The Jains always considered this mount sacred. (For the list of monks that succeeded Bhadrabāhu. Vide vol. II, pp. 26, f. n. no. 126.

(31) Readers must have been convinced by this time that "Jaina" is the proper term here.

(1) Śri Bhadrabāhu A. M. 156 to 170

(2) Sthūlibhadra 170 to 215=45

(3) (Ārya) Mahāgiri 215 to 245=30 (4) (Ārya) Suhasti 245 to 292=47 (Preceptor of Priyadarśin)

(5-6) (Ārya) Susthit and (Ārya) Supratibadha (Both 292 to 376=84)

(7) Indradinna 376 to 453=77

(8) Dinna 453 to 470=17

(9) Sinhagiri 470 to 548=78

(10) Vajra 548 to 584=A. D. 21 to 57=36 (Contemporary of Śakāri Vikramāditya and his three successors; Birth B. C. 31).

(32) Śātakarṇi is a Jain. Hence the term "*Bhadāvaniya*" refers to Jainism. In S. B. E. Vol. XXII, Prof. Jacobi has given similar names. This point requires research at the hands of Jaina scholars.

village of 'Pisajipadaka' for its support."[33] Then the author has stated that Vāsisṭhiputra Śri Pulumavi was the son of Gautamiputra, the son of queen Balaśrī. We have, however, proved above that he was the son of Gautamiputra's elder brother. This inscription is one of the many instances of the devotedness to religion, of the kings of those times. (Vol. II. Chap. on coins.) Monks in those times stayed away from the places of human habitation[34] and the kings looked after their maintenance.

Turning to the historical information supplied by the inscription, Dr. Rapson states[35]:–"The great historical importance of the inscription consists in the information which it gives as to the extent of Gautamiputra's dominion and the events of his reign." On pp. 31, para 42 of the intro. he states, " In Queen Balaśri's inscription Gautamiputra is styled king of the following countries[36], Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidabha Ākara, Āvanti (p. XXXIII); Gautamiputra is further styled "lord" of the following mountains:—Vindhya, Ṛkṣvat or Rkṣa[37] Paripātra, Sahyādris, Krishnāgiri[38] Maca, Sristana, Malaya, Mahendra, Setagiri and Chakora." Further on pp. 36 he states:—"While the

(33) See inscription no. 14 below.

(34) This was the reason why most of the Jaina Tīrthankeras died in hilly regions. (Vol. I, pp. 73–74, f. n. no. 13; cf. vol. II, Places of Priyadarśin's inscriptions).

(35) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 50.

(36) Most of these names are known. Some of them, however, are still to be located. Details about many have been given in vol. II, in the account of Priyadarśin; and in the account of Rudradāman.

(37) K. S. S. 130:—"He (Vajrasūri), with his disciples, went to the mountain Rathāvarta and died by fasting to death". (He went to that mountain from Sopārak). This means that Rathāvarta must have been very near Sopārak. Vide the account of Hāl Śālivāhan, especially the paragraph on his religious activities.

(38) C. A. R. pp. 33:—"The Black Mountain, which is mentioned in the Kanheri inscription and from which, no doubt, Kanheri takes its name". (A. S. W. I. Vol. V, pp. 79, f. n. no. 15, and pp. 84, f. n. no. 24). Cf. details in f. n. no. 30 above.

place-names in the inscription thus merely record the conquests[39] of Gautamiputra and in no way represent[40] the extent of his empire, the names of mountains mentioned more adequately vindicate his claim to be called Lord of the Duccan (Dakṣiṇāpathapati) the hereditary title of the Śātavahana dynasty."[41] In para 45 he states, "Gautamiputra Śri-Śatakarṇi was succeeded by his son Vasisthiputra Śri-Pulumāvi[42] who is known to have reigned for at least 24 years...whom Rudradaman (inscr. dated Śaka 72=A. D. 150) twice in fair fight completely defeated. It is significant that in this inscription the territorial titles which Gautamiputra won by his conquests are not inherited by his son[43] who is simply styled "Lord of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatheśvara)"

We differ at many points from the statements made above. (1) Pulumāvi was not the son of Gautamiputra but his nephew

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(39) In a way, he can be described as having achieved these conquests. They have not been associated with him because he fought them in the capacity of a helper to the Gardabhila kings. (Vide his account in vol. III). This is the reason why we find the sign of "Cross and Balls" in the coins of both the dynasties. This is also the reason why the coins of Gautamiputra are found in Saurāṣṭra and why there is an inscription by Śātakarṇi on Sāñchī. (Inscr. no. 4 above). Cf. f. n. no. 40.

(40) The names enumerated above might give the impression that his kingdom must have stretched in north India also. The extract quoted above is meant to remove that impression. (Cf. f. n. no. 39).

(41) It was not a hereditary title. The author has stated that the title is found in inscrs. no. 1 and no. 13. The title Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar is also associated with Pulumāvi Vāsiṣṭhiputra. The fact is that the title has been associated with the names of valorous kings like those mentioned in inscrs. no. 1, no. 13 and some two or three more only.

(42) This statement has been made on the assumption that the term applies to nos. 17 and 18 only. We now know, however, that the term is applicable to several. (Cf. f. n. nos. 43 and 44 below). From the accounts of nos. 17 and 18; given later on, it will be evident that this inscription refers to them.

(43) A larger territory can be denoted by a single name. The difference between Dakṣiṇāpathpati and Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar has yet to be found out. (Cf. f. n. nos. 42 and 44).

(pp. 282, f. n. 17). (2) Pulumāvi ruled for 65 years while here it is stated that they ruled for 24 years[44] at least. It was, as a matter of fact, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, who ruled for 24 years. (3) Rudradāman's victory over him is based on the Sudarśan Lake-inscription. We have proved in Vol. II, pp. 352-5 and in this Vol. IV, pp. 75 to 85, that the description there refers to Priyadarśin and that Rudradāman has no connection with it. Figure 72 which is mentioned by Dr. Rapson is not at all in the inscription. It is in E. I. Vol. VIII. Dr. Rapson thus has confused one source with another. Rudradāman's time again, is not 150 A. D; it is 25 years later (vide his account).

According to him he can be proved to have been a contemporary of Ptolemy, the famous Greek scholar. In historical matters, however, a gap of 25 to 30 years in points where no dates can be fixed, would not be much objected to. But, even if we accept that Rudradāman lived about A. D. 150, things would not be all right, because Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi died nearly a century before Rudradāman's time. (Vide the dynastic list). The fact is that the king of Deccan with whom Rudradāman was engaged in a battle was quite another[45]. (4) The greatest difficulty, however, is that queen Balaśrī has called Gautamiputra, "Dakṣināpati" (C. A. R. pp. 36; and pp. 285 above) and Vāsiṣthiputra, "Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar" (C. A. R. pp. 38, and pp. 287 above). The term "Dakṣiṇāpath" is common in these epithets. The second epithet connotes greater position than the first. The author of C. A. R. is of the opposite opinion[46]. We shall prove in their accounts that the uncle was far inferior to the nephew and that the epithets given by Balaśrī were quite in the fitness of things.

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(44) The number of 24 years shows that it refers to no. 26. Nos. 24 to 26 and 27 to 29 have Gautamiputra and Vāsiṣṭhiputra in succession. Again, they were contemporaries of Chaṣṭhaṇ and Rudradāman. Hence it is very difficult to differentiate them.

(45) The belief that Rudradāman gave his daughter in marriage to Śātakarṇi has been discussed in inscription no. 17.

(46) In the English translation, he has used the phrase "Lord of Deccan".

(14) Nāsik

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pulumāvi; during the 22nd year and a half of his reign., seventh day of a fortnight in summer.

" This is a continuation of the last; Pulumavi the lord of Navanagar (Navanara-Swami[47] sends an order to his minister in Govardhana that the village of Sudasana (Skt. Sudarśana) given to the monks on the date mentioned in the last inscription, shall be exchanged for the village of Pisājipadaka."

The point we want to discuss here is, the title connected with Pulumāvi. Dr. Bhāu Dāji (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 139) and Bakhle (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, New Series, Vol. III), agree with Dr. Rapson and state that Navanar means the city newly founded by Pulumāvi. They further state that during the rule of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāt, the Āndhra kings were forced to leave their capital which was destroyed. Later on, when they reconquered this region, the grandson of Balaśrī repaired the old city to look like a new one and hence called it Navanagar. There are many points against this theory. In the first place, was the city totally destroyed during the time of Nahapāṇ? There is no positive evidence to prove this point. Secondly, there seems little rhyme or reason in interpreting Navanar as Navanagar. According to my opinion, the term Nava-nar means the "overlord of nine best men" who probably stayed at his court and maintained his reputation sky-high. The Moghul emperor Akbar had collected such brilliant group at his court. The legend that Śakāri Vikramāditya had at his court a group of seven or nine men is very current. We also know that Vikramāditya and his successors had an intimate friendship with the Āndhra kings. The author of Amarkos has compared Hāl Śālivāhan with Vikramāditya, and the poet Guṇāḍhya in his book "Gāthā-saptasati" has compared his master with Vikram. It is very probable that Pulumāvi followed the same custom and collected a group of brilliant men at his court. He was an ardent patron of arts and himself has composed books.

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(47) The word in the inscription itself is "Navanar". Scholars have interpreted it as Navanagar for their convenience.

(15) Kārle

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmi Śri Pulumāvi, 7th year, 5th fortnight in summer, first day.

"The inscription records the donation to the monks of Valuraka of a village by so and so." The term Valurak is to be interpreted as Elorā, where there are those famous caves. That region was at that time called Māmāḍ or Manmāḍ. (Inscr. 9).

(16) Kārle

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pulumāvi, 24th year, winter, 3rd fortnight, 3rd day.

There is a reference in it to a deed done by him during the 21st year. Dr. Buhler has misread this number as 31; but that does not agree with number 24 in the inscription itself.

No. 17.

Probably by Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pulumāvi. There is no date.

Dr. Rapson[48] states:—The inscription is fragmentary, and its exact purpose is uncertain. The queen's name is missing, but she is described as "Queen of Vasiṣṭhiputra Śri Śātkarṇi, descended from the family of Kardamaka[49] kings; she was almost certainly also described as the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra. There can be little doubt that the Vāsisthiputra here mentioned is Pulumāvi and the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra is Rudradāman."

This extract illustrates the way in which the conclusions arrived at by scholars of established repute, are accepted as true though they have little evidence to support them. The original words in the inscription are quoted below[50]. Three words in the inscription, namely Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Kāraddamak and Mahākṣatrapa Rudra, require discussion. It should be noted that no proper

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(48) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 51; and para 46, 47, pp. 38, 39.

(49) The Kadamba and Śatavahan families were united by marriage ties for a long time. See f. n. no. 24 on pp. 244–45 and inscr. nos. 24 to 28.

(50) Buhler A. S. W. I. Vol. V, pp. 78, plate 51, 11; Cf. I. A. Vol. XII (1883), pp. 273. It is applicable to nos. 25 and 26; but not to no. 18. The words are:—"Vāsiṣṭhiputrasya Śri Śātakarṇisya Devyā Kārdadamaka Vamśa Prabhavāyā Mahākṣatrapa Ru...putrayā". It should be noted that the name "Pulumāvi Vāsiṣṭhiputra" is not mentioned here. Neither is there "Rudra". There is only "Ru"

noun is connected with Vāsisṭhiputra. What grounds have the scholars to conclude that it should be associated with Pulumāvi? Looking to the dynastic list, we find that it can be associated with Nos. 18, 25, 26, 27 and 29. No. 26 has Pulumāvi connected with his name; but he is called Gautamiputra and not Vāsiṣṭhiputra with whom we are concerned here. During the times of Nos. 18 and 25, the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty had not yet been founded. So they have also to be left out of consideration. The only kings that remain to be considered are Nos. 27 and 29.

Now we turn to the term "Mahākṣatrapa Rudra" Some letters after "Rudra" have disappeared. It, therefore, becomes very difficult to decide whether the phrase should be interpreted as "the daughter of Rudra" or "The daughter of an officer of Rudra." If we interpret in the first manner, we should consider Rudradāman as well as Rudrasimh and Rudrasen as probablities. If we interpret in the second manner, we have to consider Mahākastrap Iśvardatta, the Ābhira chief (Vol. III, pp. 308 and seq; and Rudrabhūti, another Ābhira chief, who was the commander-in-chief of Mahākṣatrap Rudrasimh (Inscr. 39). In short, to come to the conclusion—as the scholars have done-that Rudra means Rudradāman is very hasty. Other names have equal right to be considered.

Kārddamak:—Scholars, having come to the conclusion that it is the name of a dynasty, have stated:—"She (daughter of Rudradāman) may have been indebted to the mother for this distinction." No reason has been stated for this statement. It is possible that it may have been a metronymic as in the case of Āndhra kings. In the case of Āndhra kings, however, we have evidence based on coins and inscriptions to support the theory of metronymics. No such evidence is there in the case of Rudradāman or for that matter, in the case of the whole Chasṭhaṇa dynasty. Again, it is more probable that Kārddamak denotes the name of an Indian dynasty than of a foreign one.[51] Most probably it means

(51) In reference to Karddamak or Kardama, it is stated in I. A. Vol. XII, pp. 274, f. n. no. 2.—"A locality called Kardamila is known from the Mahābhārat. Kardamarya occurs in the Rājataranginī either as the title of

"Kadamba" which is the name of a branch of the Licchavī Kṣatriyas, and the kings of which family were united by marriage ties with the Āndhra kings[52].

Hence, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the girl in question was the daughter of the Kadamba family and not of a foreign family like that of Rudradāman. Now we may try to find out, whether the term Vasiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi is applicable to No. 27 or to 29. The time of No. 27 is A. D. 153 to 180, and that of 29 is A. D. 187 to 230. The time of Rudrasimh, on the other hand is A. D. 206 to 222. Hence it was No. 29 who was a contemporary of Rudrasimh. Hence the inscription means:—" The daughter of Ābhira chief Rudrabhūti, the commander-in-chief of Mahakṣatrap Rudrasimh, of the Kadamba family and queen of Āndhra king No. 29, gave a certain sum in charity." We only request our readers to judge the pieces of evidence given above dispassionately and then come to their own conclusions.

We shall close this chapter after referring to a point or two. Rudradāman had defeated the Āndhra king twice; the belief that he had let him go alive because he was a near relative of his, is ill-founded. The Ābhirs were the servants of the Chaṣṭhaṇas and were also tied by marriage relations to the Āndhras. Thirdly upto the 29th Āndhra king, the territory under the rule of the Āndhras was almost the same. Even during the rule ef Rudradāman the kingdom of Avanti must not have stretched beyond Nāsik near the source of the Godāvarī. It is to be believed that Rudrabhūti Ābhir may have been the governor of this bordering province of Avanti during the rule of Rudrasimh; and Iśvardatta Ābhir may have been the governor during the time of Dāmsen.

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a son of Kṣemgupta". [Note:—Why not connect it with Kadamba? Every one should be allowed to come to his conclusions.]

(52) This conclusion was independently arrived at by me. Now it is supported by inscrs. nos. 24 to 28. Chap. III, pp. 244-5 f. n. no. 241.

The author of J. I. S. I. has quoted extracts illustrating social unions. They will show that the Kadambas and the Śātakarṇis had marriage ties with one another. Inscr. 17 is an instance in point.

This Iśvardatta asserted his independence in A. D. 261, conquered some territory from the Āndhra king No. 32., and founded the Traikūṭaka dydasty in the region near the source of the Godāvarī. This was thus a buffer state between the Chasthaṇa kingdom and the Āndhra kingdom. The Chaṣṭhaṇa kingdom thus never extended beyond Nāsik. Hence, where does arise the question of their twice fighting against the Āndhra king and defeating him twice ? The Āndhras had marriage ties with Ābhiras, a branch of the Kadambas. In short, the Āndhra kingdom began to decine after No. 28 i. e. after 220 A. D.



Chapter VI

Inscriptions (Contd.)

(18) Nānāghāṭ

Vāsisṭhiputra Chatrapaṇ(faṇ) Śātakarṇi, 13th year, 5th fortnight of winter, 17th day.

It refers to a private donation and hence does not much concern us. Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indraji, however, has written a big article on Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chatrapaṇ saying that his exact identity has not yet been found out. The author of C. A. R. summarises it as follows:—"The Pandit supposed this king to be the successor of Pulumāvi and he (Chatrapaṇa) was the father of Gautamiputra Śri-Yajna-Śātkarṇi". It is not clear whether Chatrapaṇ was an immediate successor of Pulumāvi Vāsiṣṭhiputra or not[1]. (See the dynastic list; nos. 25 and 26).

(19) Amarāvatī

Rājāśri Śivamaka Śāta (Siri Sivamata Sada). No date.

"The inscription is fragmentary and its purport uncertain. The king may possibly be the Śiva-Śri-Śātakarṇi of the coins which are found in this region. The epigraphy shows that he must belong to a late period".

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(1) The newly prepared dynastic list shows that there was a gap of several years.

Looking to the details given by him in para 49, about this king and his successor named Śrichandra Śānti, and to the evidence supplied by coins[2], we shall have to differ from him. The coins seem to belong to the kings who ruled in the beginning of the dynasty and not to the kings who ruled at the end. In the extract from Sir Cunningham, quoted by him, "Vadasatas" is clearly mentioned instead of Śrichandra Śāti. Vadasatas is the name of Nāganikā's son. (See inscr. no. 1). So, Sir Cunningham supports our view point. Hence, further discussion is not needed. As a matter of fact, the number of this inscription must be receded back to no. 1 and styled as Inscr. No. 2.; and this will give us an idea of the territorial extent of Vadasatśri (Nānāghāt no. 1 is in the west and Amarāvati is in the east. Vide his account).

(20) Chhinnā (Chinnā)

Śri Yagna Śātakarṇi Gautamiputra, 27th year, winter, 4th fortnight, 5th day.

Refers to a private donation. Chhinnā is a village situated in the district of the Krṣṇā. It is stated in para 56 of C. A. R.:— "According to the Matsya Purāṇa, his accession should be dated 14 years after the close of Pulumāvi's reign" This would be all right if taken in connection with No. 28. But looking to the region from which his coins bave been found out and to the coins themselves, it seems that the inscription is connected with No. 2. There is one difficulty, however, in coming to this conclusion. On the authority of the Purāṇas, we have fixed 54 years as the duration of the rule of the first three Āndhra kings. (Chap. II; 23+20+10 months + 10) The distribution of years will have now to be re-shuffled. According to this inscription, Gautamiputra Yagnāśri must have ruled for 27 years at the least. We have also to consider the facts that Krsṇa usurped the throne from Nāganikā, that the Purāṇas have allotted 18 years to him, and that Chandragupta with the help of Chāṇakya established an independent kingdom in the adjoining territory (B. C. 382) and became the

(2) Vol. II, nos. 67-68 (pp. 29, no. 117 and pp. 32, no. 125. Sir Cunningham has given no. 14 in plate 12).

emperor of Magadh ten years later. Then we can redistribute the years as follows:—13+31+1–10 months + 8=54. This means that Śrimukh ruled for only 13 years and died at the age of 45. It is not unreasonable to suppose that his life must have been shortened by mental worries, which, looking to the circumstances of his life he had more than he could manage. Again Gautamiputra came to the throne at the age of 22 to 25 and hence may have ruled for 31 years.

(21) Nāsik

Gautamiputra Svāmi; Yagnaśri Śatakarṇi, 4th year, 3rd fortnight of winter, 1st day.

Records the completion and donation to the monks of a cave by the wife of a certain of his officials. There is nothing to be discussed. The name of the king will be discussed in No. 23 below.

(22) Kanheri

Gautamiputra Svāmi Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, 16th year, 1st (?) fortnight, 5th day.

"Granting to the monks living on the Kṛṣṇa–Śaila (Kaṇhagiri-Kanheri) endowments consisting of a sum of money put out at interest and revenue derived from a field in the village of Mangal-sthāna, the modern Magathan."

This makes it clear that interest was derived on invested capital in those times[3] (Vol. II, account of Chandragupta, extracts from Arthaśāstra.).

(23) Kanheri

Gautamiputra (Svāmi Śriyagna) Śātakaraṇi; the date[4] has disappeared; 5th fortnight of summer; number illegible.

" A private dedication."

Inscriptions Nos. 21 to 23 are to be noted for the fact that Gautamiputra Śriyagna Śātakarṇi has appended " Svāmi " to his name. A study of the coins and inscriptions of the dynasty reveals

(3) Cf. Vol. III, inscr. no. 33 (C. A. R. pp. 58), donation by Ṛṣabhadatta "at the rate of 1 per cent per mensem".

(4) Details about this will be given later on.

to us that no former king ever appended that title to his name. We have noted in the case of the Chaṣṭhaṇas that a number of kings having come in succession, there is a gap, after which there were kings who assumed the title "Svāmi"; some of them assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap" also. In their account[5] we have made it clear that these changes were due to their coming under the vassalage of the Guptas of Avanti. We have to find out whether any such changes took place in the case of Āndhras. The last and the smallest date connected with Chaṣthaṇ is 52. The scholars have concluded that his rule ended in that year, and thinking it to be of the Śaka era, which according to them was started in A. D. 78, they concluded that his rule ended in A. D. 130[6]. We have, on the other hand, proved that (Vol. III) he died in the year 49–50 of the Śaka era, which we have proved to have been started in 103 A. D. Thus, Chasthaṇ's ruled ended in 152 A. D. We have also proved that he was king of Avanti from A. D. 142 to 152, and that he was the Mahākṣatrap of the Kuśāna kings of Mathurā from A. D. 132 to 142. Dr. Rapson[7] states:— "Another statement of Ptolemy[8] which would seem to indicate that Pulumāvi and Chasṭhaṇ, the grandfather of Rudradāman, were contemporaries." This extract supports our view that the Chasṭhaṇa era was begun in 103 A. D.[9] Thus, the Deccan was under the power of Pulumāvi, while north India was under the power of Chaṣṭhaṇ, at first the Mahākṣatrap of Kuśāna kings and then the independent ruler of Avanti

On the strength of the evidence given above, we can fix the dates of Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Pulumāvi as A. D. 133 to 161.

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(5) Ante pp. 62, f. n. no. 19. Cf. Vol. III, pp. 143 and further. Even Nahapāṇ was called "Swāmi".

(6) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. Vol. III, pp. 48:—"We shall have to place Pulumāvi, who was a contemporary of Chaṣṭhaṇa long after A. D. 130".

(7) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 39.

(8) Ptolemy had visited India. His time was A. D. 139 to 165. Thus Ptolemy, Chaṣṭhaṇ and Pulumāvi were contemporaries.

(9) Proofs have already been given in vol. III. This is one more proof.

We have shown that Chaṣṭhaṇ was Mahākṣatrap from A. D. 132 to 142, and independent ruler of Avanti from A. D. 142 to 152. In the three inscriptions (nos. 21, 22, 23), the dates given are 7, 17 and illegible. These dates may be interpreted as A. D. 140 to 150, 129 to 139 and etc. in connection with Pulumāvi. It has been accepted as true, that Chaṣṭhaṇ first ruled in Rājputānā and then in Kāthiāwār. A study of the coins[10] reveals to us, "And since Yagna Śri's coins are found in Kathiawar, he must have been the last king of the dynasty to rule over this provinces[11]". This means that Gautamiputra had to bow down to the authority of Chaṣṭhaṇ. From the two inscriptions in which the dates are given, we can deduce that before A. D. 132[12] Chasṭhaṇ was simply a Kṣatrap of the Kuśāna king. Hence, after A. D. 132, when he was made a Mahākṣatrap he must have assumed control of these provinces. The date of the third inscription also must have been not more than 19 (122 + 19 = 141), when he became an independent ruler of Avanti. Thus, upto A. D. 142 the Āndhra kings sometimes ruled over Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt. From that date onwards their power was confined to the Deccan, beginning with Tri–raśmi and Kanheri.

What were the relations between Chaṣṭhaṇ and the Āndhra kings between A. D. 142 to 152? In that portion[13] of the Sudarśana lake inscription, which was inscribed by Rudradāman, the date is 72; but in the list of the countries given there, there is no mention of the Deccan. This means that upto 175 A. D. (72 + 103), Chaṣṭhaṇ, and then his successor never turned their eyes towards Deccan.

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(10) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. Vol. III, pp. 84.

(11) Cf. f. n. no. 12 below.

(12) It follows from this that Saurāṣṭra, which at first was under the power of the Gardabhilas, was conquered by the Āndhras when the power of the former was on the decline (A. D. 107 to 132). Then Saurāṣṭra was conquered by Chaṣṭhaṇ.

(13) Scholars believe that Rudradāman is the author of the whole inscription. I think that the countries enlisted therein were conquered by Priyadarśin. Rudradāman added only a part to it to commemorate his name. (For more details, Vol. II, appendix on Sudarśana lake; and for the account of Rudradāman, ante pp. 75 to 84).

Thus Pulumāvi and his successor Śivaśri suffered no molestation at the hands of the rulers of Avanti.

(24-25) Kanheri & Banavāsi

Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍ-Chūṭū Śātakarṇi; no date. Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍ-Chūṭū Kulānand Śātakarṇi, 12th year, 7th fortnight of winter, first day.

(26) Malavalli

(In the Śimogā district of Mysore State). Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍ Chūṭū Śātakarṇi, first year, 2nd fortnight of summer, first day.

(28) Malavalli

(In the Śimogā district of Mysore States); of a Kadamba king whose name is not given; no date.

All these four inscriptions are connected with king Chūṭūkaḍā-nand. We have proved on the evidence of coins that these Chūṭū chiefs were related to the Nandas of Magadh and to the Śātavāhanas also. They came to the south with the Śātavāhanas, under whose vassalage they ruled in the south.

We shall take note of an important point here. During the rule of king Udayaśva of the Śiśunāga dynasty, his son Anuruddha and his commander-in-chief Nandivardhan, conquered south India and appointed kṣatriya chiefs belonging to the ruling family, as governors there. Other kṣatriya clans, one of which were the Kadambas, also emigrated and settled there. The Kadambas established independent power over Aparānt. The Chūṭūs, as their coins tell us—must have established their power in Kānaḍā. Now these inscriptions tell us that the Kadambas achieved a conquest over the Chūṭūs and occupied Banavāsi or Vijayantapur. It follows from this that the Śātavāhanas must not have helped the Chūṭūs in this war. This is possible only, when we accept that the Kadambas[14], the Chūṭūs and the Śātavāhanas[14] have their own independent kingdoms in the south. The Kadambas had their kingdom in Aparānt, i.e. the long strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. The Chūṭūs had their kingdom in a

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(14) For Dr. Buhler's opinion on this, vide pp. 244, f. n. no. 24.

similar strip further in the south. The Śātavāhanas began with a small kingdom on the east of the Western Ghats, and in course of time established a powerful kingdom. This proves that in the beginning of their rule, the Śātavāhanas had no power over the coastal regions on the west. The coins of the Chūṭūs reveal that they were contemporaries of Śātakarṇis.

We will also touch another point here. Many times we come across terms like Mahārathi and Mahābhoji, in the inscriptions. Their relations and positions are much clarified by the dynastic list given in these inscriptions. It is given below:—

King Hāritiputra Chūṭūkaḍānand Śātakarṇi = (Queen) Mahābhoji (Mahābhojis were chiefs)

Mahārathi[15] (chiefs) = Nāgamulikā[15] (daughter)

Hāritiputra Śivaskandavarman
Vaijayantipati (from whom the Kadambas conquered Vanavāsi)

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(27) Hathigumfā

Khārvel of Kaling; (165th year of the era of the Mauryas); during the 13th regnal year.

We have proved that 103 (not 165) is the correct number and that it belongs to the Mahāvīra era. (Vide Khārvel's account.) All details have already been given.

(29) Tala-gunga

In the Śikārpur district of Mysore State; by king Kākusthavarman Kadamb; no date.

(30) Jaggyāpeṭa stūpa

In Kṛṣṇā district; by Māḍhariputra Ikṣavākunam. Śrivirapuruṣadatta, 20th year, monsoon, 8th fortnight, 10th day. (For details vide chap. VIII, No. 5).

(31) Nāsik[16]

By Ṛṣabhdatta, (Uṣāvadāta) the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ. No date.

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(15) Cf. with the names in inscription no. 1. (This title and these names indicate that they were contemporaries. (chap. VII), Vol. II, pp. 319, f. n. no. 21.

(16) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 56.

The inscription is divided into three parts. The chief part is in Sanṣkrit and has big letters. The other two are in Prākrit and in small letters. In the first, Ṛsabhadatta has used the first person pronoun, and in the other two, there is a mixture of the first and the third persons.

" The immediate object of this inscription is to record the construction of the cave in which it stands in the Triraśmi hills in Govardhana." (Some details about Tri-raśmi have already been given in No. 13.)

In the first of the two Prakrit divisions it is stated:—"And by the order of the lord, I went to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who was besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas; and Mālayas fled as it were at the sound (of my approach) and were made prisoners by the Uttambhadras. Thence, I went to the Puṣkara lakes and was consecrated and made donation of three thousand cows and a village." Scholars believe that the Uttambhadras resided in a region near Ajmer and that the Mālayas were the natives of Mālavā.

But before coming to final conclusions, we have to take note of three points:—(1) " By the order of the lord" (i. e. of Nahapāṇ) (2) In connection with the consecration, Dr. Rapson has raised a doubt and has said (pp. 57):—"It cannot be determined whether Ṛṣabhdatta's consecration (Abhiṣek) had any special significance or whether it formed a part of the ordinary pilgrim's ceremonial" (3) In the inscription there is the word "lakes." How, then, can it be interpreted as a single lake,—Puṣkar ? (We shall discuss these points after further study.

In the other Prākrit part it is stated that a field was purchased at the cost of 4000 Kārṣāpaṇas and was given in charity for " Food to be procured for all monks without distinction." We have to note the fact that Ṛṣabhdatta was a Jain. If the above statement be interpreted as referring to Jaina monks only, it means that the monks were divided into many groups; or that some group of Jaina monks had disregarded the precept that no Jaina monk should accept food intentionally prepared for them. Ārya Suhasti, the preceptor of Priyadarśin, had introduced the

custom of taking meals at the kitchen of the king, and was therefore taken to task by Ārya Mahāgiri. Hence, Suhasti had formed a separate group. Ṛṣabhadatta may have looked to the comforts of some such group.

(32) Nāsik

By Ṛṣabhadatta. No year; the full moon day of Chaitra. It is in ruins.

(33) Nāsik

By Ṛṣabhadatta; 42nd year; Vaiśākh; no. 41[17] and 45 (years).

" It records the gift of a cave and certain endowments to support the monks living in it during the rainy season". It is stated therein that 2000 Kārṣāpaṇas should be laid aside; at the rate of 1 per month per hundred, that sum would yield an interest amounting to 240. That sum must be equally divided among 20 monks for the purchase of their clothes during the rainy season. There is a further donation of 1000 coins at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ p. c. The 90 coins realized as interest from this were to be used in "Kusanmula" which Senart explains as "Money for outside life". Some scholars (on the authority of Buddhist books) state, "It would seem more probable that reference is here made to the custom of "Kathin" i. e. the privilege of wearing extra robes". This second interpretation is not correct because:—(1) Ṛṣabhadatta was a Jain and not a Buddhist. (2) The donation of the first 2000 coins has been made for the same purpose. So the meaning of the term "Kuśanmul" has yet to be found out.

The dates in this inscription belong to the Kṣaharāṭa era. So no. 42 means B. C. 117 (Vide the account of Bhūmak).

(34) Nāsik

Records the gift of a monk's cell by Dakṣamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāṇ and the wife of Ṛṣabhadatta.

These donations of caves to the monks show that rainfall during those times was plentious.

(35) Junner

By Ayam, Nahapāṇ's minister, 46th year.

(17) The number may also have been 41 or 43.

"Records gifts made by Ayama of the Vatsa-gotra, minister of the (Rājā) Mahākṣatrapa Swāmi Nahapāṇa. The titles of Nahapāṇa are remarkable in two ways. The family designation 'Kṣaharāṭa' is omitted, and this is the only occurrence of the title of "Mahākṣatrapa" as applied to Nahapāṇa. In inscription no. 33 (year 42, with later date, year 45 in postscript) he is styled 'Kṣatrapa'. All that can be inferred with certainty is, that he became Mahākṣatrap between the years 42 and 46".

In the account of Nahapāṇ in vol. III, we have explained how he succeeded to the title of Mahākṣatrap after his father's death. That there is only one inscription describing him as "Mahākṣatrap" is quite in the fitness of things. About eight or nine months after coming to the throne as Mahākṣatrap, he gave up that title and assumed the more majestic title "King". Again, the term "Kṣaharāṭ" denotes merely the foreign origin of these kings. It is not a family name[18]. Hence, its *omission in the inscription. The title "Swāmi"* indicates that upto the time of this inscription, Nahapāṇ had not become an independent king.

(36)

By Ṛsabhadatta, no date.

"The immediate object of the *inscription is to record the* grant of the village of Karjika for the support of the ascetics living in the caves of Valūraka-a grant which was subsequently renewed by Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi" (Vide sup. no. 9).

We have already given details about Karajık-Valurak. The chief thing to be noted is that all these inscriptions have a *religious* significance rather than political[19].

(37) Kārle

By Devaṇak, the son of Ṛṣabhadatta; *no date; nothing* particular.

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(18) The language spoken by the Kṣaharāṭas was Kharoṣṭhi, which therefore is not the name merely of a script as some scholars believe. Brāhmī on the other hand is a mere script, not a language. The Kharoṣṭhi language was spoken in Persia and Kamboj. Many of its words got intermixed with the Brāhmī of Gāndhār due to trade-relations between these countries. Pāṇini's grammar shows this very clearly.

(19) Vide ante pp. 82-83.

(38) Junāgaḍh

By Rudradāman; the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśirṣa. (It should be noted that this inscription does not bear the date 72 as others do).

The inscription[20] is a famous one. Hence, we shall note here only those points where we have reason to differ from scholars. Dr. Rapson states:—"But the chief importance of the inscription consists in the information, which it affords as to the history of Rudradāman and the events of his reign". He further states:— "He was the lord[21] of Purvaparākarāvanti, Anupa, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Maru, Cutch, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta and Niṣad...... and other countries gained by his valour. He conquered the Yaudhdheyas and twice defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇā-path. He himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrap". As a matter of fact all this description of the conquest applies to Priyadarśin and not to Rudradāman. We have proved this convincingly in the appendix on the Sudarśan lake in vol. II and in the account of Rudradāman. Again, it is written in the inscription itself, "He had conquered Yaudhdheyas", a region in U. P. Now, for all the years during which Rudradāman was on the throne of Avanti, the whole of U. P. was under the power of the Kuśāns (Kaniṣka II), who were the overlords of his dynasty. We have also explained that it was not necessary to achieve conquests in order to rise to Mahākṣatrapi[22] from Kṣatrapi. There were other ways.

The doctor further states:—"The work of repairing the broken dam to be carried out by the minister Suviśākha, the son of

(20) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 60.

(21) The term "Svāmi" shows that these countries were inherited by him (not conquered). The word "Lord" indicates that the holder has conquered some countries. No. 17 was called "Dakṣiṇāpathapati and no. 18 was called "Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar". As a matter of fact no. 18 was a much greater king than no. 17. Vide the account of no. 17.

(22) If we accept that this inscription was erected by Priyadarśin, then he must have been the holder of the title "Mahākṣatrap" for some time. But that is impossible. Hence this portion of the reference about Mahākṣatrapa is for Rudradāman who thus clarified his position.

Kulaipa of Pahlava". My belief is that Kulaipa was not a Pahlava (i.e. a Persian), but a Pallava (one of the branches of the Lichchhavi kṣatriyas). Suviśākh itself is an Āryan name.

There is no mention of the date in C. A. R. The date stated is 72 (Epi. Ind. Vol. VIII, pp. 47). Scholars have taken it to be belonging to the Śaka era and hence have interpreted it as A. D. 150. According to my opinion it belongs to the Chasṭhaṇa era and hence should be interpreted as 103 + 72 = 175 A. D.

(39) Gundā

By Rudrasinha I, year 103, 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśkāh. Gundā is a village in the district of Hālār in Kāthiāwār.

"It records a donation made at the village of Kasapadra by the Ābhira general (Senāpati) Rudrabhūti". This means that the Ābhiras were the servants of the Chasṭhaṇas. (Vol. III, chap. II, pp. 309–11). An Ābhira chief named Iśvardatta, later on, founded an independent dynasty. The inscription refers to a donation for religious purposes. 103 should be interpreted as A. D. 206.

(40) Junāgaḍh

By Rudrasinha I; the date has disappeared; 5th day of the bright half of Chaitra.

All details about this inscription have already been stated: (pp. 83). It refers to a religious donation. According to C. A. R. it is connected with Jainism. The year is 40, which should be interpreted as 143 A. D. as in the case of nos. 38 and 39.

(41) Mulvāsar

By Rudrasinha I, year 122, 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākh.

Mulvāsar is a village in the Okhā district (Gāekwār) in Kāthiāwār. The inscription was found on the bank of a lake. "Its purport is uncertain". The year 122 should be interpreted as A. D. 225.

(42) Jasdan

By Rudrasena I, year 128 (or 126), 5th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada.

"This inscription is on a pillar on the bank of the lake at Jasdan in the north of Kāthiāwār. It probably commemorates the construction of a tank during the reign of Rudrasena". The year 128 should be interpreted as A. D. 231.

It has been by now a well-established fact that kings in ancients were strongly attached to religious activities, and erected inscriptions with the intention that posterity[23] might imitate and emulate their religious activities. When Chandragupta Maurya came on a pilgrimage to Mt. Girnār, the sacred place of the Jains, he got a lake dug there, so that pilgrims might have no difficulty in getting water[24]. In course of time, his successors got it repaired whenever it was necessary. The region about Jasdan also was a sacred place of the Jains; and the Chaṣṭhaṇas were staunch followers of Jainism. (The inscriptions above and their accounts). Hence they seem to have got a lake dug here for the convenience of pilgrims.

Jasdan is situated in Pāñchāl, a region in the centre of Kāthiāwār. Near it is the hill of Choṭilā. In the same region there is also a village named Āṇandpur[25]. (Vol. II pp...182). This region was invaded by Mūlrāj Solanki in the 9th century A. D. At that time there ruled a king named Dhruvasen over this region. The foot of Mt. Śatruñjay[26], the sacred place of the Jains, was near Āṇandpur in those times. All this has been proved by me in an article[27] on the authority of the inscription at Haḍālā (I. A. Vol. 12, pp. 190).

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(23) The purpose of the donation was not to acquire fame but to show the posterity a manner of charity.

(24) Vol. II, pp. 179–80 and their f. nos.

(25) Vol. II, pp. 180; "Though eternal, under the clutches of Time".

(26) The original name of Mt. Śatrunjay is Siddhāchal. It had 108 peaks. Some of them are Revatagiri (Girnār), Kadambagiri, Hastagiri, Vimalagiri, Ḍhānkgiri (etc.). Many old idols and other relics are found there. Ānandgiri is also one of the peaks.

(27) Vide "Buddhiprakāś" (Gujerāt Vernacular Society); 1934; article on Ānartapur. (Cf. pp. 44 to 53); "Jaina Jyoti", Vol. I. (V. E. 1988); Pauṣa, No. 3, pp. 83 to 88; "Jaina Dharmaprakāś", Vol. 45 (V. E. 1985), Vaiśākh, No. 2, pp. 58 to 63.

(43) Nāsik

Iśvarsen, 9th year, 4th fortnight of summer, 13th day.

" It records the investment of two sums of money...for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick among the monks dwelling in the monastery of Mount Tri-raśmi. We have already stated details about Tri-raśmi.

The fig. 9 represents the year of his own reign which began in 249 A.D. Hence no. 9 is equal to 258 A. D. (Vol. III, pp. 312). Scholars call it the Kalchūri or the Chedi era which was begun in 249 A. D. *

(44) Pārḍi

By king Dharsena, year 207 of the Trikuṭaka era; 13th day of the bright half of Vaiśākh.

It refers to the performance of the Aśvamedha yagna by Dharsen in celebration of his conquests and to the donation to Brahmaṇas of the village of Kaniyadākāsārikā. The king was evidently a follower of the Vedic religion[28]. No. 207 means 207+319=A. D. 526. As stated in inscr. 43 above, the Trikuṭaka kings were followers of Jainism and used the Kalchūri era. Dharsen seems to have been converted to the Vedic religion. It is not clear when this change of religion took place[29].

(45) Kanheri

Year 245 of the Traikuṭaka era; the author's name not given; It refers to the installation of a Chaitya in the monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri. (Inscr. No. 13; f. n. 30 to 32). year 245 means 245 + 319=564 A. D.

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* F. n. no. 28 below.

(28) The Trikuṭaka dynasty had two branches. One consisted of the chiefs of the Chaṣṭhaṇas. The members of this branch were Jains (Inscr. no. 43). Their coins bear evidence to this fact. They adopted the Kalchūri era which was begun in A. D. 249. The persons connected with inscr. no. 44 form the other branch. This was an offshoot of the Guptas and were thus followers of the Vedic religion and have also adopted their era beginning in 319 A. D.

(29) F. n. no. 28. It was during this period that the Maitrakas of Vallabhipur and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi in south India, asserted their independence,

Details about nos. 43, 44 and 45 have already been given in vol. III, chap. XI.

Of the 45 inscriptions described above, the reader will see that nearly two-thirds are connected with Śātakarṇi kings. If we refer to the matter of the inscriptions we shall find that $\frac{7}{8}$ of them are connected with them. We have seen that the main reason of the erection of these inscriptions is the commemoration of a religious deed, such as the digging of a lake or the donations of fields and sums of money for the convenience and maintenance of monks. The donor may have been a king, or his minister or a private gentleman; but all have given something in charity in commemoration of a happy event in their lives. Thus, these inscriptions reflect very brightly the tendency of the people of those times to do something good for their fellow human beings. Western scholars have unanimously committed the mistake of coming to the conclusion that these inscriptions were erected for political reasons only. Below is given, for the sake of reference a tabular list of these inscriptions:—

No.	Date and Place	Authority Evidence	Details in brief
1	B. C. 383 Nānāghaṭ (Godāvarī district).	C. A. R. Intro pp. 45, Para 57 and pp. 19, Para 21.	Refers to the donation to Bammaṇas by Nāganikā the queen of Gautamiputra Yagnaśri. (Bammaṇa means, one who observes celebacy and the vow of non-violence. Evidently the donation was given to Jaina monks). The donation was given at the time when she was the regent for her son who was minor (B. C. 383). The inscription was erected during the 13th year of the rule of that son (B. C. 371). For details see J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. vol. III, pp. 47-83.

2	Uncertain; Nāsik.	C. A. R. pp. 46; para 23; pp. 19, para 22–23	By Kṛṣṇa of Śātavahāna dynasty. He was the brother of king Śrimukh.
3	Beginning of A. D. Nāsik.	C. A. R. pp. 46; pp. 20, para 25.	Details are given about Śakti-śri: If this legend is proved true, it will be applicable to Hāl Śālivāhan (No. 18), though according to the dynastic list in chap. II, it is applicable to Śivasvāti (No. 23).
4	Uncertain. Bhilsā (Mālvā).	Bhilsa Topes, pp. 214, 264, 269; Plate "Sāñchi Tope No. 1.; No. 19; C. A. R. pp. 47, and 23, para 29 and 57.	Refers to a donation by an artisan during the rule of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi; by Hāl Pulumāvi. The name Śātakarṇi seems to have been written because the artisan was a subject of the Śātakarṇi king and the donation was made in the king's presence.
5-6	B. C. 309; Kaṇheri. (Nāsik Dist.).	C. A. R. pp. 27, para 35 and 36.	(5th king) Māḍhariputra Svāmi Śakasen; during the 8th year of his reign.
7	B. C. 54; Nāsik.	C. A. R. pp. 29, para 38; pp. 36, para 43. C. A. R. pp. 104; He exterminated the race of Kṣaharātas.	Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the lord of Bennākaṭak conquered Govardhan Samay during the 19th year of his reign, and issued the order that the donation given by Ṛṣabhadatta should be considered as given by him. He "destroyed the Sakas and restored the glory of his family". He is to be understood as Aristakarṇa (No.17). It has a religious significance,

			because it refers to a donation to monks. He has been given the title "Dakṣiṇāpathapati". (Cf. No. 13 below).
8	B. C. 48; Nāsik.	C. A. R. pp. 48, para 38.	In continuation with no. 7 inscription; during the 24th year of his reign, due to the order of queen Balaśrī, his mother. The order was issued from Bennākaṭak, to Śyāmak, the governor of the district of Govardhan. His elder brother was alive at this time. It also seems that he was on death-bed at the time of this inscription. During his illness lasting six months, two orders were issued at an interval of five months. This also proves that there was a custom in those times to give donations at the time of death. Balaśrī does not seem to have taken any part in political affairs. All were considered of equal status.
9	B. C. 53; Kārle, (Nāsik dist.).	C. A. R. pp. 49, and 29, para 38-39.	During the 18th year of the rule of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi referred to above. Refers to the donation of a village named Karajak (Karajat ?) for the maintenance of the monks residing at the caves of Valuraka (Elorā ?) in the district of Māmal (Manamāḍ). The donation was made two fortnights after the one made in No. 8. It was not made, as the

			scholars believe, "as a result of his victory over Nahapāṇ", but at the time of his death. This took place nearly 22 years after the death of Nahapāṇ.
10	Uncertain; Amarāvatī (Bezwāḍā Kṛṣṇā district).		By Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmiśrī Pulumāvi–No. 18, Hāl Śātakarṇi. It refers to a donation to the Mahāchaitya built at the cost of 38 lacs of coins of Khārvel, as it is described in the Hāthīgumfā inscription. This means that both Khārvel and Pulumāvi followed the same religion namely Jainism. Thus the Amarāvatī stūpa is connected with Jainism and not with Buddhism.
11–12	B. C. 45 Nāsik. B. C. 41; Nāsik.		There is an interval of four years between them. They are by Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. Nothing particular.
13	B. C. 28; Nāsik.	C. A. R. pp. 30; para 42–42; and pp. 38, para 45.	During the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi, by his grand-mother Balaśrī. He seems to have conquered the whole of Deccan. (In inscription no. 7, Gautamiputra is styled as "Dakṣiṇāpathapati" and here he has been styled as Dakṣiṇapatheśvar; there seems to be some difference between the meanings of the two. The time of No. 7 is the 19th year of the rule of Gautamiputra, and the

			time of this inscription is the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Thus, there is an interval of 25 years between them. It refers to the donation to the monks residing on Mt. Tri-raśmi.
14	B. C. 25; Nāsik.	J. B. B. R. A. S. New. er. Vol. 1II, pp. 74; C. A. R. pp. 50 para 57.	During the 22nd regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi (i. e. 3 years after the above inscription). He is described in it as "Lord of Navanar". It is thus clear that he connected himself with literary activities after the conquest of countries. He must have composed his ' Gāthāsaptasati" at this time. The belief that he founded a new city as the seat of his capital is quite false. He seems to have had nine learned men at his court. He ordered the governor of Pisajipada, to give the village named Sāmalipad in charity.
15	B. C. 40; Kārle (Nāsik dist.).		By Hāl or Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi, during the 7th regnal year. It refers to the donation of a village named Vālurak to the monks.
16	B. C. 23; Kārle.		By Pulumāvi Vāsiṣṭhiputra, during the 24th regnal year. He has there also mentioned his donation during the 21st regnal year.

17	Uncertain	C. A. R. pp. 51; pp. 38–39, para 46 and 47	By a Kadamba queen of Vāsisṭhiputra Pulumāvi; must not have been the Queen Consort. It is in ruins. So the purport is not clear.
18	B. C. 112; Nānāghāṭ		By Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chatrapaṇ Śātakarṇi during the 13th regnal year; refers to some private donation.
19	Amrāvati; (Near Bezvāḍā)		By Vadasaṭśri; no date; it is in ruins and hence the purport is not clear. This shows that he had conquered all the region upto Bezvāḍā.
20	B. C. 387; Chinnā (Kṛṣṇā dist.)	C. A. R. para 51	By Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, during the 27th regnal year; refers to a private donation. This proves that his kingdom stretched as far as Kṛṣṇā district.
21	B. C. 129; Nāsik		By Gautamiputra Yagnaśri during the 7th and a half year of his reign; refers to the donation of a cave to monks by the wife of his officer (probably commander–in–chief).
22	B. C. 138; Kaṇheri		By Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, during the 16th regnal year. Refers to the donation of a field and a certain sum of money to the monks residing on Mt. Kaṇheri.

23	B. C. 141 (?) Kaṇheri	During the 19th (?) regnal year of Gautamiputra Svāmiśri Yagna Śātakarṇi. Private donation.
24	Kaṇheri	By Hāritiputra – Viṣṇukuḍ – Chūṭū, Śātakarṇi, the date has disappeared.
25	Banvāsi (?) (Kanārā dist.)	By Hāritiputra Viṣṇuknḍ–Chū-ṭū–kūlānand Śātakarṇi, during the 12th regnal year. The inscr. is in the compound of the big temple.
26	Malvalli (?) (Mysore State)	By Hāritiputra Viṣṇukuḍ-Chūṭū Śātakarṇi during the 1st regnal year. Banavāsi was conquered by the Kadambas from them.
28	Malvalli (?) (Mysore State)	Of a Kadamba king whose name is not given. As Nos. 24, 25, 26 and 28 do not fall within our time–limit, we are not much concerned with them here.
27	B. C. 414; Hāthigumfā (Orissā)	By Khārvel of Kaling during the 13th year of his reign. All the details have been given in the account of Khārvel.
29	No date Talguḍ; (Mysore State)	By the Kadamba king named Kākusthaverman. We are not concerned with it.

30	Uncertain; Jaggayāpeṭ Stūpa (Kṛṣṇā Dist.)	A. S. S. I. Vol. 1. pp. 5 (Imperial Series)	By Māḍhariputra Ikṣavāku Nāma Śri Virapuruṣadatta during the 20th regnal year. It does not come within our time-limit. He may be No. 5 in the list. If that is so, the time of the inscr. would be about B. C. 298 (For details vide his account).
31	No date; Nāsik	C. A. R. pp. 56	By Ṛṣabhadatta Śaka. There are details about a cave on Mt. Tri-raśmi. It also refers to the defeat of the Uttamabhadras and the donation of some cows and of food to monks.
32	No date; Nāsik		By Ṛṣabhadatta; it is in a ruined condition; the purport is not clear.
33	B. C. 117; 118 & 114; Nāsik		By Ṛsabhadatta; it bears No. 42 of some era. It refers to the provision for the maintenance of monks residing in the caves. It also notes the increase in the sum given in donation during the previous year. Some details of the 45th year are also given. So we find details about the 41st, 42nd and 45th years. Nahapāṇ was a Kṣaharāṭ and he founded this era beginning with the accession of his father, Bhūmak, to the throne.

34	No date; Nāsik		It refers to the donation of a cave for monks by Ṛṣābhadatta and his wife Dakṣamitrā the daughter of Nahapāṇ.
35	B. C. 113; Junner (Nāsik)		By Ayama, the minister of Nahapāṇ. in the year 46 of an unspecified era (As he was a minister of Nahapāṇ, he must have used Kṣaharāṭa era).
36			By Ṛṣabhadatta. No mention of date or place. The matter itself indicates that it must have been erected at Kārle. It refers to the donation of a village named Karjak for the maintenance of the monks residing in the cave at Valūrak. The donation was continued by Gautamiputra Śātakarni (Inscr. No. 9).
37	No date Kārle		By Devāṇak, the son of Ṛṣabhadatta, No date given. The perport is not clear.
38	A. D. 175; Junāgaḍh	C. A. R. pp. 60; E. I. Vol. VIII, pp. 138.	By Rudradāman. All details have been given in his account. No. 72 given in the inscr. is not at all discussed in C. A. R. In Epigraphica Indica, however, the No. is mentioned. Scholars, thinking that it belongs to the Śaka era, have interpreted it as 72+78=150 A. D. But, as a matter of fact, the Chasṭhaṇa era was begun in 103 A. D. and so 72 comes to 175 A. D.

39	A. D. 206; Gundā (Kāthiāwār)	Rudrasimh I, in the year 103: it refers to the donation of a village named Rasoprada by Rudrabhūti, the commander-in-chief of the Ābhira chief. Thus it is certain that the Ābhiras have come into being by the 2nd century A. D.
40	A. D. 213; Junāgaḍh	By Rudrasimh I. Refers to a donation. In C. A. R. No. 40 has been mentioned; but it seems to be a mistake, because in No. 39 the date given is 103. His reign lasted from 103 to 119. Hence the number must have been 110. Hence, we have written 213 A. D.
41	A. D. 225; Mulvāsar (Okhā, Kāthiāwār)	Rudrasen I, 122nd year. The purport is not clear. The inscription has been erected on the bank of a lake and hence must have a religious significance.
42	A. D. 230; Jasdan (Kāthiāwār)	Rudrasen I, It refers to the digging of a dam in the 126th or 127th year.
43	A. D. 258; Nāsik	By Iśvarsen Ābhir, during the 9th regnal year. Refers to the donation of a sum of money as a provision for the monks residing on Mt. Tri-raśmi, during their illness. The No. represents the Traikutaka (Kalchūri) era and hence can be interpreted as 249+9=258 A. D.

44	A. D. 546; Pārḍi (Surat Dist.)		By Traikūṭaka Dharsen–207 No. It refers to a donation to the brāhmaṇas after performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice. His coins bear Jaina signs; hence it follows that he must have given up Jainism, the religion of his ancestors in favour of the Vedic religion. Possibly there took place a religious upheaval in those times.
45	A. D. 494 (?) Kaṇheri		The name of the author is not given. The No. given is 245. We have, for want of definite evidence, surmised that it belongs to the Traikuṭaka era and have thus interpreted it as 249+205= 454 A. D. It refers to the installation of a Chaitya in a monastery on Mt. Kṛṣṇagiri.

The following table is given in order of dates. Those inscriptions, the dates of which are uncertain, are left out.

Date	Name of the king and of the place	No.
B. C.		
414	By Khārvel; Hāthigumfā	27
387	By Gautamiputra Yagnaṣri Śātakārṇi; Chinnā	20
383	By Nāganikā, the Queen of Gautamiputra Yagnaṣri; Nāṇāghāṭ	1
309	By Māḍhariputra Swāmi Śakasen:-two inscriptions at Kaṇheri	5-6
298 (?)	Māḍhariputra Iksavāku Śri Virpurasadatta, Jaggayāpeṭ	30
118-117 & 114	Ṛṣabhadatta Śaka; information is given about the three years mentioned; Nāsik	33
113	Ayama, the minister; of Nahapāṇ; Junner	35
53	Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (Dakṣiṇāpathapati) Nāsik	7
53	Gautamiputra „ „ Kārle	9
48	„ „ „ Nāsik	8
45	Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, Pulumāvi; Nāsik	11
41	„ „ „ „	12
40	„ „ „ Kārle	15
28	„ (as Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar Nāsik	13
25	„ (as Navanarapati) Nāsik	14
23	„ Kārle	16
A.D. 112	Vāsiṣṭhiputra Catropaṇ, Śātakarṇi; Nānāghāṭ	18
129	Gautamiputra Svāmiśri Yagna Śātakarṇi; Nāsik	21
138	Gautamiputra „ „ „ Kaṇheri	22
141 (?)	Gautamiputra „ „ „ „	23
175	Mahākśatrap Rudradāman; Junāgaḍh	38
206	Mahākṣatrap Rudrasimh I; Gundā (Kathiawar)	39
213	Mahāksatrap „ „ Junāgaḍh	40
225	„ Rudrasen I; Mulvāsar (Okhā)	41
230	„ „ Jasdan (Kāthiāwār)	42
258	Iśvarsen Ābhir; Nāsik	43
456	Dharsen Trikuṭak; Pārḍi (Surat)	44
494	Author's name not given; Kaṇheri	45



Chapter VII

Śatavāhana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(*1*) *Śrimukh: a brief account of his life; of his parents, his nine brothers, and step-brothers; and of their ages—The place, where he and his brother Kṛṣṇa were born—Though, he was the eldest of all the brothers, yet his right to the throne was disclaimed and he left Magadh to found a new dynasty elsewhere—The seat of his capital—His family, race and religion—His progeny—The events of his reign—Was Puṣyamitra his contemporary?*

(2) *Gautamiputra Yagnaśri—The Mahārathi chiefs—His marriage relations with them—The extent of his territory and the seat of his capital—Vadsatśri—Queen Nāganikā's regency during the minority of her son—The usurpation of the throne by Kṛṣṇa.*

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY (Contd.)

(1) ŚRIMUKH ŚĀTKARṆI

Founder

The founder[1] of this dynasty was Śrimukh[2]. In coins and inscriptions we find the name with a slight change as "Simukh", which seems to be a Māgadhi form. Some scholars have also connected the term "Śatavahan" with his name. Full explanation of this term has been given in Chap. I.

We have seen that history has little say on many points in the accounts of the dynasties of north India. The condition of the dynasties that ruled the south is no better. The account of the Kalinga empire, one of the two most powerful empires in the Deccan, has made this very clear. The other mighty empire, the account of which we are writing, fares no better. It is, therefore, fortunate that coins and inscriptions connected with the dynasty have been found out. Looking, however, to the fact that the duration of this dynasty was the longest of all the dynasties that ruled India, and to the consequently large number of kings, the information that is available is neither enough nor satisfying. It affords us only glimpses here and there. To build a connected whole on this smattering of evidence, is, therefore, no easy task.

Śrimukh's age and his relations

He was born of Nand II's śūdra queen, whose parents were hunters[3]. As he founded the dynasty in 100 A. M., it was called the Śatavahana dynasty (B. C. 427). We have already explained how the terms Āndhrapati, Āndhrābhṛtya and Śātakarṇi were appended to the names of some of these kings.

Nand II died in 100 A. M. = 427 B. C. He had many queens;

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(1) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 42, para 52:—"The founder of the line bears the name "Śātavāhan inscribed over his statue in the Nanaghat cave" (Rājā Śrimukh Śātavāhano).

(2) In Matsya Purāṇa (vide text of f. n. 32 on pp. 210) he is called Śiśuka.

(3) If the term "Āndhra" represents a race (pp. 217), it must have been one of the hunter tribes. She seems to belong to a high brāhman family (Read further).

some of which were kṣatriya and others śūdra[4]. When he died, there arose a quarrel about the throne. It was decided that only a kṣatriya-born prince should succeed Nand II. This shows that some of the princes, born of śūdra mothers were senior in age to the kṣatriya-born princes. All the kings from Nand III to VIII were kṣatriya-born. All of them, however, died without leaving any son behind them. Hence, the same problem arose after the death of Nand VIII. The ministers then could not allow the śūdra-born prince to come to the throne, because that would mean injustice to Śrimukh[5], who by that time, had established himself as a powerful king, and of whom the ministers were a bit afraid.

It was therefore settled that a she-elephant should be made to go round the city and that the man upon whom she sprinkled the sacred water should be crowned. The person who was fortunate enough to be thus selected was none other than one of Mahāpadma's sons, born of a śūdra mother. That was Nand IX. (A. M. 112=B. C. 415). At the time of his accession he was 21-22 years old. (For details, vide Vol. I).

Thus in 100 A. M. when Nand II died, the throne was given to a son, born of a kṣatriya mother and in 112 A. M. when Nand VIII died, the throne was given to a son born of a śūdra mother. It follows from this that in 100 A. M., Nand IX must have been about 10 years old. Hence, all his elder brothers from Nand III to VIII must have been senior to him in age and Nand III himself must have been 24 to 25 in 100 A. M. when he came to the throne. We have proved above that Śrimukh was elder than

(4) There were no castes in those times. There were only classes according to professions. Inter-class marriages were very common. Śrimukh's father and mother belonged to different classes. Nand II had married girls belonging to various classes. Nand IX was married to the daughter of a brahman astrologer, who had foreseen his bright future, just before his coronation. Śreṇik had married a vaiśya girl and had given his daughter in marriage to a vaiśya. Chandragupta's mother was a low-class woman. Bindusār married a brāhman girl. Aśok married a yavana girl. etc.

(5) Śrimukh, as we have already proved, was the son of Mahāpadma.

Nand III and hence must have been 27 to 28 in 100 A. M. In fact, scholars are probably right in affirming that he was about 32 years old when he came to the throne.

Nand II, therefore, had eight sons. The eldest was Śrimukh, who was born of a śudra queen. The next six sons were born of a kṣatriya queen and the last (Nand IX) was born of a śudra queen. We are not sure whether Śrimukh and Nand IX were born of the same mother. We have, however, shown in Vol. I, that they were born of different mothers, and that Śrimukh had a brother named Śri Kṛṣṇa[6] (Inscr. 2, pp. 275). Thus Mahāpadma or Nand II had nine sons and three queens.

We have stated that he was about 32 when he came to the throne. His reign lasted for 13 years. (pp. 233 dynastic list, and pp. 296, Inscr. 20). Hence he died at the age of 45. Śri Kṛṣṇa was probably 5 years junior to him. Calculating back, Śrimukh was born in A. M. 68 (B. C. 459) and Śri Kṛṣṇa in A. M. 73 (B. C. 454).

Other points

We have shown above that Śrimukh was born in B. C. 459. This means that Mahāpadma must have married the śūdra girl in about 461 B. C, when Nand I was on the throne of Magadh and when he himself was the heir-apparent. Now, Pāṭaliputra was the seat of the capital of Nand I. Under what circumstances then, did Mahāpadma go so far as the Kānārā district in order to marry the śūdra girl?

We have proved in Vol. I, that Nand I had conquered Aparānt and other southern countries. Probably he must have sent Mahāpadma on these expeditions and Mahāpadma, after achieving the conquests, must have stayed there for a time. Nandivardhan had adopted the commendable custom of appointing his cousins and other near relatives as governors over conquered territories in the south, with the heir-apparent as their head. This is the reason why we get in the south the coins of Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand. The heir-apparent's head-quarters must have been Kolhāpur or

(6) C. A. R. para 53:—"It is probable that Kṛṣṇa was the brother of Śrimukh".

any other town in the neighbourhood. There he fell in love with a śūdra girl, as Aśok did a vaiśya girl, and married[7] her. Two sons-Śrimukh and Śri Krṣṇa were born of her. We can not say whether one or both the sons were born in Kānārā.

The foundation of the Āndhra dynasty

We have stated in Vol. I, that Nand I ruled a mighty empire consisting of the whole of India and that he was for that reason called Nandivardhan. His successor Mahāpadma was at least strong enough to maintain the status quo, with a few changes here and there. During his rule, Kśemrāj established a powerful empire in Kaling-an empire that was extended by his successor Vṛddhirāj, whose heir-apparent Bhikhkhurāj conquered the whole of south-eastern sea-coast. This was more due to Mahāpadma's love of peace than his inability to resist the aggression. The territories on the south-western coast also, though nominally under the suzerainty of Magadh, were more or less independently ruled by chiefs like Mūlānand, Chūṭukānand and Dhūlānand[8] who were not unaffected by greed for land. The death of Mahāpadma in 100 A. M. was utilised by them as an opportunity for asserting their independence, because things were rather unsettled in Magadh due to the succession quarrel. Thus, almost the whole of south India was lost to the Magadha empire. It was with great difficulty and much statesmanship on the part of the ministers that the northern empire was kept intact.

Śrimukh and Śri Krṣṇa went to the south to seek some political ends with the help of their mother's relatives. It seems that the ministers in Magadh must have encouraged them in this project, so that they might be left undisturbed in their task of establishing peace and order in Magadh. Śrimukh avoided the eastern route in order to avoid encounter from Khārvel, who had powerfully established himself in Kaling. So, he passed through Budelkhaṇḍ, Central

(7) During Aśok's, as well as Mahāpadma's times inter-class marriages were as common as anything. Readers will now see, how unreasonable it is on the part of the scholars to give the name "Kālaśok" to him on this ground. Mahāpadma was not at all called Kālāśok (Vide his account in Vol. I).

(8) Vol. II, Coins nos. 49-52.

Provinces and Berār and went to Mahārāṣṭra. He succeeded in establishing his power over a small region[9]. His intention was to go to the south coast of Mahārāṣṭra where lived his mother's relatives[10] and to get some help from them. He was also tempted to invade from this side the kingdom of Kaling where Bhikhkhurāj ($27\frac{1}{2}$ years old) had recently come to the throne[11], because he thought that he was in every way superior to Bhikhkhurāj and had therefore every chance of success. Hence, he marched into his territory from the western frontier. Khārvel marched against him with a large army, inflicted a heavy defeat upon Śrimukh and pursued him hotly for a long distance, devastating all the region on the way (Hāthīgumfā inscription). Śrimukh was forced to retire to Nāsik on the bank of the Godāvarī. Bhikhkhurāj returned to the seat of his capital after forcing Śrimukh to accept his suzerainty (?). Śrimukh selected Painṭh[12] or Junner as the seat of his capital. Thus was founded the Āndhra dynasty in the district of Nāsik in 100 A. M. As he had to accept the suzerainty of Khārvel[13], he was called "Āndhrabhrtya"[14].

The events of his reign

By the time Śrimukh established his own dynasty, he had passed through many vissicitudes in life, and hence had learnt to curb his ambition and to temper valour with wisdom. He seems to have called himself "Vilivayakur[15]". During the thirteen years of his

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(9) Read further.

(10) Vol. II, Chap. III, pp. 105, f. n. no. 130.

(11) Bhikhkhurāj was 25 when he ascended the throne in B. C. 429. (Hāthīgumfā inscr.). This invasion took place two years later in B. C. 427.

(12) For difference between Pyton situated on the east of Nāsik and Painṭh, situated on the west, vide chap. IV and also map at the end.

(13) The Federal System of government was given a blow by Chāṇakya in about 160 A. M., and it totally disappeared during the rule of the Śungas in A. M. 345 and after.

(14) Cf. f. n. no. 13 (which shows that the term "Śungbhṛtya" was in use upto A. M. 345). Vol. II, pp. 112, f. n. no. 145; Vol. I, pp. 151, f. n. no. 13 and pp. 356, f. n. no. 47.

(15) For the meaning of this term vide Vol. II, pp. 102. Coins nos. 56 to 58.

rule, he extended his kingdom with slow but sure steps and never undertook an expedition where the chances of success were rather remote. He probably brought under his control all the territory upto Kolhāpur, Berār and Central Provinces, though it is more probable that these conquests were achieved by his son Gautamiputra Yagnaśri. Looking to the places from which his coins have been found out and to other circumstances, we can fix up his territory as bounded by Navasāri district in the north, the banks of the Tungbhadrā on the south, the Arabian sea on the west and the Sahyādri ranges in the east.

More details about family, race and dynasty

We have already given some details about "Āndhra", "Śatavahan", "Śātakarṇi" etc. Some more details are given below. We should first be clear about the difference between a race and a nation. A race means a group of persons claiming descent from the same blood. These persons may be residing in one territory or in various territories. A nation means an aggregate of people residing in the same geographical area. A nation may consist of one race or of a number of races. The "Āndhra" is the name of a nation.

We have proved in Vol. I, that the Śiśunāgas and the Nandas were Malla ksatriyas, one of the eighteen branches of the Samvrijis. Śrimukh was the son of Nand II. Hence, he and his descendants were also Malla kṣatriyas[16]. The fourth Āndhra king—the grandson of Śrimukh—is for this reason called Vadsatśri Mallikśri Śātakarṇi. As regards family, Śrimukh, of course, belonged to the same Vāhik family (Vol. I, pp. 261, f. n. no. 47) to which Śreṇik, all other Śiśunāgas and Nandas belonged.

We have already given details about Śata[17], Śāta, Śātakarṇi etc. It is not unreasonable to conclude that the dynasty derives

(16) Some scholars call them Brāhmins, some call them non-Brahmins. Some discussion about this is given in "The Indian Culture" (Calcutta), Vol. V, no. I, 1938. Vide pp. 248 above.

(17) Vol. III, pp. 349, f. n. no. 10.

its name from the date of a particular era in which it was founded. The date 100, as has already been proved, belongs to the Mahāvīra era. It follows from these, that the kings of this dynasty were Jains. Their coins[18] bear witness to this fact. We have proved in Vol. I, that the

The dynasty and the religion

Śiśunāgas and the Nandas were Jains. The inscriptions of the Āndhras, in which are commemorated the religious donations[19] made by them also show that they were Jains. We will show in the accounts of kings like Ariṣṭakarṇa and Hāl Śātakarṇi—commonly known as Śālivāhan—that they performed many Jaina rites and ceremonies[20]. Of course, it is quite possible that not all the kings of this long-lasting dynasty, might have been Jains. There may have been slight deflections here and there on account of the various religious upheavals[21] that shook ancient India on and often. Mostly, however, they were Jains; only some of them have gone to the fold of the Vedic religion. The writer[22] of "The Early History of India" says:—"It is a curious fact that although Āndhra kings were officially Brahminical Hindus, most of their donations were made to the Buddhistic institutions". Had the writer of this extract given any piece of evidence to support the statement, it would have been to the great advantage of all the students of history. The mention of the word "Buddhist", as our readers by this time must have clearly understood, is the result of the common and widespread mistake of the scholars of misinterpreting everything Jaina as Buddhist[23]. "Simukh" is clearly a Māgadhi word, the language of the Jaina scriptures.[24]

(18) Vol. II, coins nos. 56 to 84.

(19) Chapters V and VI in this volume.

(20) Vol. III, pp. 6.

(21) Cf. vol. I, pp. 4 and sequel.

(22) 3rd edi. pp. 210.

(23) For more proofs vide Vol. II, chaps. II & III.

(24) Cf. the Jaina couplet given below:—

"Koi aneru jag nahi e tīrtha tole,
Em Śrimukh Hari āgale Śri Simandir bole".

The kings of this dynasty always took pride in appending to their names, terms like "Śataśri" or "Vadśatśri" because they denoted the religious connection of the beginning of their dynasty in the hundredth year of the Mahāvīra era. That seems to be the reason underlying the statement of C. H. I. (pp. 531):–"Their (Satvāhans) earliest coins bear the name of a king Sata." As time went on, as political and religious changes began to take place, terms like Sata and Śatavahan began to be replaced by Śātakarṇi and Śālivāhan. Such changes took place twice—during the reigns of the seventh and the twenty–third kings.

Inscr. no. I by Queen Nāganikā (Chap. V.) shows that Śrimukh had a son, who was married to Nāganikā, the daughter of a Mahārathi belonging to a family named Angiya. Nāganikā gave birth to two sons, namely, Vadaśri and Hakuśri. Inscr. no. 2 shows that Śrimukh had a younger brother named Śri–Kṛṣṇa. The coins of Śrimukh's son reveal that his name was Yagnaśri Gautamiputra, who died in A. M. 143 (B. C. 384) leaving two sons behind him, respectively eight and six years old. Nāganikā took the reins of the government into her own hands. Calculating back, we find that Gautamiputra's two sons must have been born in A. M. 135 (B. C. 392) and A. M. 137 (B. C. 390) respectively. Śri–Kṛsṇa, the younger brother of Śrimukh, usurped the throne from Nāganikā and ruled for ten years and died in A. M. 153–4 (B. C. 373). We have fixed A. M. 73 (B. C. 454) as the date of his birth. This means that he died at the age of eighty. Śrimukh died at the age of 45. That Śrimukh's son called himself Gautamiputra means, that Śrimukh had married a princess belonging to the Gautami family. Similarly Nāganikā's son Vadaśatśri called himself Vāsiṣṭhiputra, thus proving that Nāganikā belonged to the Vāsiṣṭha family. Again, both Śrimukh and Śrikrṣṇa called themselves Vāsiṣṭhiputras. Evidently, their mother, though a low class woman, belonged to that family. This shows that these kings did not marry girls belonging to the same family as theirs. This is the reason, why

His family

"Śrimukh=by his mouth; Hari=Indra; Śri Simandir=one of the four living Tīrthankeras.

some of the kings have been called Gautamiputras and some Vasisṭhiputras etc. In those times class-distinctions were based on various professions followed by the people. The name of Śrimukh's queen has, as yet, not been found out.

Who were contemporaries and who were not

We have seen that scholars have fixed up Pusyamitra Śunga, Khārvel and Śrimukh as contemporaries, and that, having been able to fix up Pusyamirra's time as 188 B.C.[25], they have come to the conclusion that the other two, also must have flourished at about the same time. We have proved convincingly that the whole theory is ill-founded and that Bṛhaspatimitra whose contemporary was Khārvel, was quite a different individual from Puṣyamitra Śunga.

Below are stated the times of all these persons in order to avoid confusion:—

(1) Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh : B. C. 417–415 (Vol. I, pp. 360).

(2) Khārvel of Kaling: B. C. 429– 393 = 36 years (Vol. III, chart opp. pp. 329).

(3) Puṣyamitra Śunga: B. C. 226–188 = 38 years (Vol. III, cahrt opp. pp. 79).

(4) Śrimukh of Āndhra: B. C. 427–414=13 years (pp. 233).

(2) GAUTAMIPUTRA YAGNAŚRI OR YAGNAŚRI GAUTAMIPUTRA

His family

According to Mr. Pargiter, Śrimukh was succeeded by Śri-krsṇa. We have, however, already proved that Śrimukh was succeeded by his son, named Gautamiputra Yagnaśri, the husband of queen Nāganikā. He died leaving two sons behind him, eight and six years old respectively.

In inscr. 20 (chap. VI), it has been stated that he was about 20 to 25 when he ascended the throne. His rule lasted for 31 years and he died at the age of about 50 to 55 years, in A. M. 143=B. C. 384. Calculating back, he must have been born in A. M. 93=B. C. 434. His two sons, as we have already seen, were born in B. C. 392 and 390 respectively. This means that he got his first son at the age of forty-two. It has not yet been decided whether he had any other children except these two or whether

(25) Even this date is not quite correct.

he had any other queens except Nāganikā. Looking to the poligamous custom of those times and looking to his age when his first son was born, it is but natural to surmise that he had married other girls before Nāganikā and that he must have had children by them who were all, however, dead.

Mahārathes

Nāganikā, as has been stated in inscr. no. I, (Chap. V) was the daughter of a Mahārathi of Anga. It has been stated in C. A. R. pp. 21, para 27:—" Maharathis and Mahabhojakas were evidently high officers of the state, probably Viceroys[26] in the Āndhra empire. They are often intimately connected by family ties with the ruling sovereign "[27] We have stated in the account of Śreṇik that there was in his army an officer named Nāgarathik. (Vol. I, pp. 246). In the divisions of the army, in Chāṇakyaś "Arthaśāstra", mention is made of Maharthi[28]. It seems that it indicates a certain position and status in the army and is not the name of any officer. Gautamiputra Yagnaśri married the daughter (Nāganikā) of a Mahārathi of Vidarbha. Nearly a century and a half later, Agnimitra Śunga defeated a certain Mahārathi of Vidarbha and married his daughter named Mālavikā. (Vol. III, pp. f. n. 32). Possibly these two girls belonged to the same family. Yagnaśri must have, sometime during his rule, defeated Nāganikā's father and married her.[29]

Prying into the hoary past is a difficult business. As regards research work in ancient history, conclusions are arrived at on a

(26) Members of the ruling family were customarily appointed as governors and on other high posts in all the dynasties in those times.

(27) The coins of Chūṭūkānand and Mūlānand bear witness to this. It is stated in C. A. R. para 140:—"Ujjain symbols are only found on coins of Satavahan family but not on those of Chutu dynasty". The statement has been made by the author under the impression that the Chūṭūs were independent kings. As a matter of fact, however, provincial governors had the power to have their own coins.

(28) Cf. with the matter in Chap. VI, pp. [illegible] e table given there.

(29) We had raised the question whether [illegible] was [illegible]ed by Śrimukh or by Yagnaśri on pp. 259. The ans[illegible]

collaboration of certain pieces of evidence. Of all the ways of finding out truth in history, that of chronological sequence and coincidence is the soundest. That was how we proved that Sandrecottus of Greek history was not Chandragupta but Aśok.

Territorial extent and the seat of his capital

The dynasties which ruled in other parts of India contemporaneously with Gautamiputra Yagnaśri were the Nandas in the north and the Chedis in the east. Now Yagnaśri ruled from A. M. 113 to 144=31 years. During this time Nand IX ruled over Magadh (112 to 115 A. M.=43 years); and Khārvel (A. M. 98 to 134=36 years), and Vakragrīv (134 to 155 A. M. = 21 years) ruled in Kaling. The coins of Yagnaśri are found in the Cāndā district of Berār and in the regions of the Godāvarī and the Krṣṇā in the south. From this, we can conclude that the central Provinces, Berār, the whole of the Nizām kingdom and certain portions of Mahārāṣṭra must have formed parts of his territory.

The Hāthigumfā inscription tells us that Khārvel defeated Śrimukh during the second year of his reign (100 A. M.). The sixth line of the same inscription tells us that he defeated all the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas in A. M. 102. This shows that the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas were not under the vassalage of Āndhras. The Rāṣṭrikas ruled over a portion of Mahārāṣṭra and the Bhojakas over Berār (C. H. I. pp. 600). These two people were therefore the vassalage of the Chedi rules for 102 A. M. and onwards, until the Āndhras conquered them. Yagnaśri, knowing it too well that his father had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Khārvel, dared not lift his head against him. On the other hand, we know that when Yagnaśri died, his son born of Nāganikā, was eight years old. Hence he must have married her in about 134 A. M. It has been proved that Khārvel died in 134 A. M. and was succeeded by his son Vakragrīv, who was a lover of pleasure, and who was not as valorous as his father. It is possible, therefore, that Yagnaśri may have conquered Berār and Central Provinces in 134 A. M. immediately after Khārvel's death, and married Nāganikā. Having achieved these conquests, it was not difficult for him to conquer the southern portion of the Nizām territory, in

B. C. 393 – 92 = A. M. 134 – 35. Thus we see that when Yagnaśri came to the throne in A. M. 113, he inherited from his father, a comparatively small territory. By 135 A. M. he increased his territory to a large extent, as we have already seen. For the first 20 years of his rule, he was an Āndhrabhṛtya; for the remaining 11 years he was an independent Āndhrapati.

Now we turn to the seat of his capital. We have proved that Painṭh was the seat of the capital during his father's time. Looking, however, to the extended kingdom of Yagnaśri, it is not certain whether Painṭh was continued as the seat of capital. Did he shift the seat of the capital to the region of Warrangul–Amarāvatī ? We know that after achieving his conquests in 133 A. M., he ruled for the next ten years; he had, therefore, ample time to make changes like this. If Painṭh, however, was in one corner, Warrangul was in another. Amarāvatī has to be more or less ruled out because we are not sure whether Yagnaśri's kingdom extended upto that region. We know, however, for certain that the region of Bennākaṭak was conquered by Vadsatśri Mallika Śātakarṇi, the son of Yagnaśri (Vol. II, coins nos. 67–68). In all probability, therefore, he may not have changed the seat of his capital.

VADSATŚRI ŚĀTAKARṆI

In the dynastic list given in the Purāṇas, Vadsatśri is stated to have succeeded Kṛṣṇa. As a matter of fact, however, when Yagnaśri died, the infant Vadsatśri was immediately declared to have succeeded him and Nāganikā worked as regent. Hardly had this state of affairs lasted for 10 months in 146 A. M., as it is stated in inscriptions nos. 1 and 2 (Chap. V). Śri Kṛṣṇa usurped the throne. When Yagnaśri died in 144 A. M., Nand IX was ruling over Magadh and Vakragrīv ruled over Kaling. Both ruled for the succeeding 11 years. We also know that in 155 A. M., Chandragupta defeated Nand IX and became the emperor of Magadh. This conquest was achieved by him with the help of Vakragrīv of Kaling. We also know that at the time of dividing the spoils of the kingdom, Vakragrīv was treacherously murdered.

We have proved that Chandragupta was born in 130 A. M. (B. C. 397), founded the Maurya dynasty in A. M. 145 (381 B. C.),

and became the emperor of Magadh in A. M. 155 (372 B. C.). Let us see whether the events of Chandragupta's life have any connection with the events that took place in Āndhra in 144 and 146 A. M. Coins Nos. 56, 57, 67 and 68 (Vol. II) tell us that Yagnaśri for a short time, and Vadśatśri for a long time, were under the vassalage of the Nandas and the Mauryas. Thus it follows that Chandragupta must have some hand in the usurpation of the throne of Āndhra by Śri Kṛṣṇā. In Vol. II, pp. 190 we have stated that in about A. M. 145, Chandragupta, then sixteen years old, had established his kingdom by conquering from king Nand the region now called the State of Revā and the district of Chattisgaḍh (Vol. I, fig. No. 54) with the help of Chāṇakya. We should note that before Chandragupta achieved this conquest, the region was under the power of Nand IX. We have also stated above, that Yagnaśri defeated the Mahārathis—of the Angakula vardhana family-of the same region, and married Nāganikā, the daughter of one of the Mahārathes. These Mahārathes who were originally the governors appointed by Nand II, had changed several masters during the 50 years that succeeded the death of Mahāpadma in 100 A. M. When Nand IX consolidated his power at home[30], he turned his attention to the re-conquest of these regions during the 32nd[31] year of his reign, as he felt strong enough for an expedition of this nature[32]. Hence he must have reconquered them from Yagnaśri in about 144 A. M., as is indicated by coin No. 56. This means that during the last year of his rule, Yagnaśri must have been forced to accept the vassalage of Nand IX. Vadsatśri, naturally, must have succeeded him in the same circumstances. It is possible that Śri-kṛṣṇa, who was, as we know, a consin of Nand IX, may have appealed to him for help in

(30) Vide vol. I, the account of the Nanda dynasty to have an idea of the anarchy that prevailed from 100 A. M. onwards in Magadh.

(31) Nand IX came to the throne in A. M. 112. This event took place in 144 A. M.

(32) He came to the throne in very precarious circumstances (Vol. I). He made an effort to exterminate the kṣatriyas. He settled as a powerful ruler only after 30 years.

getting the throne from Nāganikā, on the plea that she was a woman and could not handle the affairs of the kingdom as he would. Nand IX, may have helped him in the act of usurpation. Below is given a chronological table of principal events:—

A. M.	B. C.	
100	427	The region over which Chandragupta established his power, was under the rule of Nand II.
102	425	Khārvel conquered this region. Political conditions in Magadh were quite unsettled during the rule of all the kings from Nand III to VIII.
134–5	393–2	Yagnaśri conquered this region from Kaling and became quite independent.
142–3	385–4	Nand IX reconquered this region from Yagnaśri and forced him to become his vassal.
143–4	384–3	Vadsatśri succeeded Yagnaśri as Āndhrabhṛtya.
144–5	383–2	Śri-kṛṣṇa, with the help of Nand IX, usurped the throne.



Chapter VIII

Śatavahana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(3) *Śrikṛṣṇa I—the circumstances under which he usurped the throne—Two kings of the same name have been found in the dynastic list as is revealed by their coins—The retribution.*

(4) *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vadsaṭśri Mallikaśri Śātakarṇi—The reason why the epithet Mallikaśri is appended to his name—The meaning of the term Vihvaya-His children and the duration of his life-Some peculiar events of his rule—The extent of his territory—The Nānāghāṭ inscription by his mother Nāgaṃkā.*

(5) *Pūrṇotsang or Māḍhariputra Śivalakuras—His name and his titles—The political condition of India in his time and the extent of his territory—The details of his army based on the authority of a famous foreign ambassador–Puṣyamitra was not a contemporary of Śrimukh just as Chandragupta was not Sandrecottus—The probable seats of the capital—Painṭh and Amarāvati, and their prosperous condition.*

(3) ŚRIKṚṢṆA I; VĀSIṢṬHIPUTRA

We have seen how Śrikṛṣṇa usurped the throne from Vadsatśri and his mother Nāganikā. We also know that Chāṇakya had taken a vow not to enter Magadh and of not tying his quene as long as he did not destroy the Nandas root and branch. When Chandragupta, the son of a daughter of peacock-keeper, became 16 years old in 144 A. M., he took him away from his parents, and having conquered some region between the kingdoms of Āndhra and Kaling, established Chandragupta as a king there. Then, as the incident of the old dame tells us (Vol. II, pp. 166), he began to organize the army and began a methodical conquest of the surrounding territory. Chāṇakya took enough care not to molest the territory of Kaling, because it was his design to make Vakragrīv help Chandragupta against Mahānand. When Mahānand came to know of these things, he, wisely enough, made a move to make friends with the king of Āndhra, where at that time Vadsatśri, the infant king, was on the throne, with queen Nāganikā as the regent. Hence, he turned his eyes to old and experienced Kṛṣṇa who was very eager to come to the throne. Pressure was therefore brought upon Nāganikā to make way for him. The queen, who was wise enough to recognize the trend of the times, vacated the throne and thus made the way clear for Kṛṣṇa. The Nānāghāṭ inscription describes the whole event in very telling terms and the hatred of Nāganikā for Śrikṛṣṇa has been expressed there in very biting terms.

Coin No. 63 (Vol. II, pp. 110) bears the name Śrikṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi and has been found out from the district of Chandā. It bears the elephant on the obverse side. We know definitely that the elephant was the symbol of Priyadarśin, who flourished much later than Śrikṛṣṇa, with whom we are concerned here. Hence, the coin has no connection with Śrikṛṣṇa who usurped the throne. The Śrikṛṣṇa of the coin must have been some other king in the line. The Dhauli–Jāgaudā inscription of Priyadarśin tells us that Priyadarśin twice defeated an Āndhra king and let him go alive because he happened to be his relative. The dynastic list tells us that Śrikṛṣṇa, who was a contemporary of Priyadarśin was

Gautamiputra; while Śrikṛṣṇa with whom we are concerned here was a Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Thus there were two Śrikrsṇas.

Śrikṛṣṇa I was born in A. M. 73 (pp. 323), came to the throne in 145 A. M. and died in 155 A. M. at the age of 82. Nothing is known about his family or about his children.

Other details

Śrikṛṣṇa's alliance with Nand IX did not accrue to his happiness. The Mahārathis became his staunch adversaries on account of his treachery towards Nāganikā. He also created another powerful enemy in Chandragupta. Under the expert guidance of Chāṇakya, Chandragupta molested the Āndhra as well as the Magadha territory whenever he got an opportunity and never missed to have a bite from the territory. This continued for nine years from B. C. 381 to 372. Then Chandragupta, by the advice of Chāṇakya, invaded the Āndhra kingdom and Śrikṛṣṇa was killed in the battle that took place. Then Chandragupta gave the throne back to Vadśatśri, the rightful owner, who was by this time 18 years old, and who accepted the suzerainty of Chandragupta and began to be called Āndhrabhṛtya.

(4) VADSATŚRI MALLIK ŚRI ŚĀTAKARṆI ; VILIVAYAKURAS VĀSISTHIPUTRA

We have stated, under what circumstances Vadsatśri was restored to the throne. We have also explained why the title Mallikśri was appended to his name. It remains here for us to explain the terms Vilivayakuras and Vāsisthiputra.

The term Vilivayakuras is made up of Vilivaya + kuras. Scholars believe that "Kura" is a deteriorated form of "Kula"[1] and the whole term denotes the name of a dynasty. Had that been so, however, all the kings of the dynasty would have appended the term to their names. That is not the case. Another writer[2] is of the opinion that the term Vilivaya is a deteriorated form of Viravalaya, meaning, " one who has put on a bracelet as a

(1) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 87.—"Kura"=tribe"...Vilivayakura=prince belonging to the tribe of Vilivay, Shival etc.".

(2) K. S. S. Com. pp. 52.

sign of valour." This seems to be the right interpretation. I believe that those kings of the dynasty who were independent assumed this title; and those who were under the vassalage of any king could not. This helps us to understand the signs on their coins.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra comes of course from the name of the family of his mother, Nāganikā. The name Vadsatśri is mentioned in one of the inscriptions. In inscr. No. I (chap. V) it is stated that Vadsatśri had a younger brother named Hakusiri. Dr. Buhler (A. S. W. I. Vol. VI. pp. 62, no. 1) has identified Hakusiri with Śaktikumār, whose name is so often mentioned in the Jaina books. We have, however, already explained in inscr. 3 (chap. V), that Śaktikumār was none other than the brave king Hāl Śālivāhan. As regards Hakusiri, he seems to have died at an early age.

His family

In A. M. 145, when his father died, he was eight years old. He was born in 137 A. M. He was restored to the throne in A. M. 155, at the age of eighteen. His rule lasted for 56 years, and he died in A. M. 210 = B. C. 317, at the age of about 73.

Little is known about his children. His successor may have been his son. Jaina books[3] tell us that he had another son. The episode is as follows:—"In the city of Pratiṣṭhān, two brahmins named Varāhamihir and Bhadrabāhu became Jaina monks. When Bhadrabāhu was made the Āchārya, Varāhamihir felt envious and became angry. He disguised himself as a brahmin, composed " Varāhsamhitā" and led the life of an astrologer. Once, a son was born to the queen in the royal palace. Varāhamihir predicted that he would live for hundred years. All the people thereupon flocked to the palace and congratulated the king. The only man who kept aloof was Bhadrabāhu, whom Varāhamihir began to censure in the strongest terms. Bhadrabāhu told his Jaina followers that the prince would die on the seventh day by the onslaught of a cat. The king thereupon caused all the cats to be driven out from the city. On the seventh day, a wooden stopper having

(3) K. S. S. pp. 125-26.

the shape of a cat fell accidentally upon the prince who died instantly. As a result of this, Bhadrabāhu was praised everywhere, and people began to censure Varāhamihir[4]." This means that the son must have been born a short time after Bhadrabāhu was made Āchārya in A. M. 156. This episode also gives us the date of the composition of Varāhasamhitā (156 A. M.). This Bhadrabāhu was the royal preceptor of Chandragupta, who described to him the 16 dreams which he had in Ujjain. Bhadrabāhu thereupon interpreted the dreams (Vol. II, pp. 186); and Chandragupta renounced the world and became a Jaina monk (A. M. 169=B. C. 358). The preceptor and the pupil travelled through many provinces. At last in A. M. 170=B. C. 357, Bhadrabāhu took the Saṁlekhaṇā vow and died near Śravaṇa-belgol[5].

The peculiarities of his reign

More than thirty kings ruled in the dynasty. Of these, there were hardly four, whose reigns lasted for more than fifty years. One of these four, was Vadsatśri. Another peculiarity of his reign is that he came to the throne twice. Thirdly, his was a very peaceful and prosperous reign[6]. Fourthly, no king of the dynasty had to accept the suzerainty of so many overlords one by one. When he came to the throne, he was under the vassalage of Nand IX. When he came to the throne the second time, his overlord was Chandragupta. After Chandragupta's renunciation, he came under the vassalage of Bindusār. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed in Magadh due to the weak rule of Bindusār, he became independent in B.C. 347 and enjoyed his independence upto 317 B.C.

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(4) There took place another incident showing the superiority of Bhadrabāhu over Varāhamihir, in point of knowledge. With that, however, we are not concerned here.

(5) In Śvetāmber Jaina books, Chandragupta's entering the Jaina Holy orders and Bhadrabāhu's going to the south and many other incidents have not been mentioned. We have, however, shown in Vol. II, why Priyadarśin erected gigantic idols in this region. Hence the absence of these details in the Śvetāmber books does not prove that they were untrue.

(6) It is possible that some events may have taken place, of which there are no signs or records extant.

when he died. Even Aśok who came to the throne in 330 B. C. did not disturb him. Even his successor enjoyed independence.

As we have already said, his was a peaceful reign. Hence, we expect little change in his territorial extent. Vadsatśri inherited all the territory that was under the rule of his father. During the time when Śrikṛṣṇa was on the throne, the Central Provinces and Berār were conquered by Chandragupta; the greed for land, however, being non-existent in those times, Vadsatśri, when he was restored to the throne, was given back these provinces. Right upto the retirement of Chāṇakya in B. C. 350, things continued without any change. When, however, after the retirement of Chāṇakya, anarchy ruled supreme in Magadh, Bindusār found it impossible to hold the Deccan under his power. All the territory upto Bezwāḍā, Bennākaṭak and Amarāvatī (Vol. II, coins nos. 67, 68 and inscr. no. 19), came under his power. All the petty chiefs on the eastern coast accepted his suzerainty. Even the Cholās, Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas came under his banner, or under that of his successor. We may safely conclude, therefore, that Vadsatśri was the unchallenged ruler of the whole of south India except the extreme southern regions. His coins are found in eastern India. General Cunningham says in his C. A. I. pp. 108:—"All the coins of Andhras are found in Eastern India round about Amaraoti, while all bow and arrow coins come from Western India".

Territorial extent

This inscription (No. 1, chap. V) was erected by Nāganikā; in which she has given details about herself and her two sons. It refers to a donation made by her. No date is given in it. The author of J. B. B. R. A. S. (1928, Vol. III, new edi. pp. 83) has stated that it was erected during the 13th year of Vadsatśri's reign. He has given no piece of evidence in support of his statement. The Nāśik inscription was also erected by Nāganikā. In it, we find full details about the usurpation of the throne by Śrikṛṣṇa. The Nānāghāṭ inscription, on the other hand, contains no mention of Śrikṛṣṇa. It is, therefore, possible that the Nāśik inscription was erected immediately after the usurpation, and that Nānāghāṭ inscription

The date of Nānāghāṭ

was erected some 12 years later, i. e. immediately after Vadsatśri was restored to the throne.

(5) PURṆOTSANG OR MĀḌHARIPUTRA; ŚIVALAKURAŚ

Mr. Pargiter says that Purṇotsang succeeded Vadsatśri on the throne; but he is silent on the point of relationship between the two. In the absence of any information to the contrary, we might as well suppose that Purṇotsang was the son of Vadsatśri. There is little evidence to support that Purṇotsang was called Māḍhariputra. A coin, however, has been found out. (Vol. II, pp. 106, No. 59). It bears the names Maḍhāriputra and Śivalakuras. Another coin (Vol. II, pp. 108, No. 63) has been found out, bearing the name Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi Considering these things together, Sir Cunningham and Dr. Rapson have come to the conclusion that these two succeeded Vadsatśri one after the other, and that each ruled for eighteen years. Thus, they believe that Purṇotsang succeeded Vadsatśri, and that Gautamiputra Vilivāyakuras Skandha-sthambh (pp. 223) or Kṛṣṇa II succeeded him.

We have seen that Vadsatśri died at the age of 73, and that a son of his died in A. M. 156. At this time Vadsatśri was only 21 years old. The next son to be born was Purṇotsang. Hence at the time of Vadsatśri's death, Purṇotsang must have been 50 years old. The fact that he ruled for 18 years means that he died at the age of about 70. He ruled from B. C. 317 to 299, and was born somewhere between 364 B. C. to 369 B. C.

We have stated above in agreement with scholars that Māḍhariputra ruled for 18 years. But the details given below leave some room for doubt. In inscr. No. 20 (Jaggayāpeṭ Stūpa, Kṛṣṇā dist.) it is stated that it was erected by a king named Māḍhariputra Ikṣavāku Nāma Śri Virapuruṣadatta, during the 20th year of his reign. "In the Archeological Survey of South India" (Imperial Series) Vol. I, p. 5, it is stated that there are inscriptions by Pulumāvi and Yagnaśri in the Avanti stūpa. This means that these two kings, namely Nos. 18 and 17 of the dynasty, had this region under their power. It, therefore, becomes clear that Māḍhariputra of Jaggayāpeṭ can have no connection with Nos. 17 and

Some explanation about Māḍhariputra

18. We know further that this region of Amarāvatī and Jaggayāpeṭ was under the power of kings Nos. 5, 6 and 7 also. No. 5 was, as we have seen, Māḍhariputra Śivalakuras. Probably, therefore, the Māḍhariputra Ikṣavāku Nāma Śri Virápuruṣadatta of the Jaggayāpeṭ Stūpa was none other than No. 5. The name Ikṣavāku is not so objectionable as it seems at first sight. It has been found to have been applied both to the kṣatriyas and to the brahmaṇas. The Śātavahanas, as we have seen, though born of a low-class mother, had a kṣatriya ancestor of a noble descent. Hence, Māḍhariputra may well have been called Ikṣavāku. If we accept this theory, we shall have to ascribe at least 21 years to Māḍhariputra, instead of 18. Some changes, here and there, thus will have to be made in the chronological list.

Territorial extent

If we look to the dates of Māḍhariputra's reign, we shall find that by the time he came to the throne, the Kalinga empire had gone to pieces. Hence, there were only two powers in India:—(1) Aśok at the head of the Magadha empire in the north and (2) Māḍhariputra at the head of the Āndhra empire in the south. Aśok ruled from B. C. 330 to 289 and Purṇotsang ruled from B. C. 317 to 299. We have made it clear in the account of Aśok that after Chāṇakya's retirement and due to the weak rule of Bindusār, there prevailed misrule and anarchy in north India, and that it took Aśok nearly 26 years of his rule to see things settled in India and to repulse the persistent attacks of foreign invaders like Alexander and of his successor and general, Seleucus Necator. Hence upto B. C. 304, Aśok had no time to attend to things in the south. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Pūrṇotsang annexed that part of Kaling, which was not annexed to the Magadha empire. Consequently all the territory on the south of the Vindhyā ranges, with the Mahānadi in the east and the Narmadā in the west, and Cape Comorin in the south, formed the Āndhra empire. When, therefore, Aśok wanted to send a mission to Ceylon, headed by Sanghamitrā and Mahendra, he sent it by a sea-route, and saw the members of the mission off, on the banks of the Mahā. This took place in B. C. 312, i. e. during the 5th year of Māḍhariputra's reign.

It is an indisputable fact—modern scholars may believe it or not—that the kings in ancient times fully realized the significance of having a well-organized and well-trained army and of other forms of military defence and tactics. Śreṇik, the builder of social guilds, had spared no efforts in having an organized and trained army. His grandson, Udāyanbhaṭ, reaping the advantage of his military genius, conquered the whole of south India. Udāyanbhaṭ's commander-in-chief Nandivardhan, later on the founder of the Nanda dynasty, was the unchallenged emperor of the whole of India, because of his remarkable genius for military organization. Chāṇakya, that incomparable statesman, also recognized the importance of a well-trained army for the protection of an empire. The army in those times consisted of four divisions:—Infantry, Cavalry, Elephants and Chariots. Large towns and strategic places were protected with strong walls around which were dug ditches, some ideas about which have been given in Vol. I, pp. 286. When in B. C. 304 Seleucus Necator sued for peace with Aśok, the latter concluded a treaty with him and married his daughter. Seleucus, therefore, sent an ambassador named Megasthenes at the court of Aśok. Due to the Greek influence, one division of the army, namely, the chariot, gradually disappeared. We find no mention of chariots in Megasthenes' description of the Āndhra army which is given below[7]:—"The Andhra territory included 30 walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 1,00,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants......and was reputed to possess a military force, second only to that at the command of the king Prasii Chandragupta Maurya".

The army

We have proved in Vol. II, that Aśok and Priyadarśin were different individuals and that the latter was the grandson of the former. Aśok ruled from B. C. 330 to 289 and Priyadarśin from 289 to 235. In his Dhauli Jāguḍā inscription, Priyadarśin has stated that in the 9th year of his reign (280 B. C.) he conquered that region from Śātakarṇi and let him free twice, because he was

(7) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 206.

a near relative. We shall see later on, that the first battle was fought with the 6th Śātakarṇi and that the second was fought with the seventh. Priyadarśin also erected three inscriptions (Brahmagiri etc.) in the Chittaldurga district of the modern Mysore State, during the 32nd (and a half) year of his reign. This means that from B. C. 280 to 256, all this territory was under the power of Priyadarśin. Clearly, the sixth and the 7th Āndhra kings were under the vassalage of Priyadarśin. The coins of the 5th and the 6th Āndhra kings are, however, found in the region now called the Coromāṇḍal coast and in the region around the Kṛṣṇā. This means that before 280 B. C. these regions were under their power. Clearly, therefore, they must have been conquered by the 5th king Māḍhariputra, who was evidently more valorous than the sixth king.

Some ideas on the extract from Megasthenes

We have quoted an extract from Megasthenes as it is found in the "Early History of India" by Mr. Vincent Smith. We want to comment here on two phrases in that extract. The first is "The Āndhra dynasty". The very fact that the Āndhra army had reached such height of efficiency by 304 B. C. means that the dynasty itself was founded long ago and Śrimukh, its founder flourished several years before 304 B. C. This is one more proof against the common belief of the scholars that he was a contemporary of Pusyamitra Śunga who flourished in about 188 B. C. The second phrase is "Prasii Chandragupta Maurya." The phrase suggests that Megasthenes was writing about a king who was already dead by the time of his writing his diary, because, had he meant the king at whose court he stayed as ambassador, he would have described him as "my king" or "our king." This is one more proof–and a very reliable one at that—against the commonly accepted theory of the scholars that Sandrecottus was none other than Chandragupta. Sandrecottus, as we have already proved, was none other than Aśok.

In chapter IV, we discussed the question of the seats of capital and came to the conclusion that there were three possible capitals of the Āndhras–namely–Painṭh, Warrangul or Amarāvatī

and Vijayanagar. Of these, the third has to be left out of consideration as it was the capital of one of the branches of the dynasty. Painṭh must have been the original capital of the Āndhra empire. With the passage of time, and with a substantial increase in the territorial extent, political exigencies might have required the change of the capital from Painṭh to Amarāvatī–or Warrangul. Coins and inscriptions of some of the earlier kings have been found in the south–east and of some others in the south–west. The same has been the case with some later kings. This shows that the seat of the capital had to be changed several times. Let us try to find out the causes and dates of such changes.

The seat of the capital

It has been accepted as true, that Śrimukh selected Painṭh as the seat of his capital. We have now to find out when Amarāvatī was preferred to Painth. In inscr. No. 7 (Chap. IV) Nāsik, there are the words " destroyed the Sakas and restored the glory of " (Inscrs. 33–35). Scholars have interpreted these words in the sense that Gautamiputra Yagnaśri, at the instance of his mother Balaśri, got this inscription erected at this point in order to wipe off the stain on his dynasty, caused by the defeat of his ancestor at the hands of Ayama and Ṛṣabhdatta (the son–in–law of Nahapāṇ) and by the forced removal of the seat of capital from Painth to an unknown place in the south. It was for this –for this purpose—that he changed the seat of his capital back to Painṭh and erected the inscription in B. C. 53. The removal of the seat of the capital to Amarāvatī had to be made in B. C. 114. We shall show below that this theory of the scholars is ill–founded.

In the first place it is very wrong to suppose that in the times with which we are concerned here, battles took place for political purposes only. On the contrary, greed for land, as we have proved in Vol. I, was conspicuous by its absence in India in those times, and was not at all an incentive to war. This was especially the state of things in south India, where foreign influence which had contaminated the northern kings with this greed for land, had not at all penetrated. Hence, wars in the times with

which we are concerned here, were waged for purposes other than political. We have already proved on the evidence of coins and inscriptions that long before B. C. 114, the Śatavahanas had established their power over south-east of India (Vol. II, Chap. III, and Chaps. V and VI in this Vol.) Hence the change of the seat of capital from Painṭh to Amrāvatī had taken place long before 114 B. C. due to reasons, other than the wars with Ṛṣabhdatta and Ayama. Again Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta and Ayama erected inscriptions in Nāsik, Kanheri, Kārle, Junner and at other places. This region was at that time called Govardhan Samay, in which was situated Mt. Tri-raśmi, in the caves of which many Jaina monks resided and observed penance. For the maintenance of these monks, many donations, as we have already noted, were made by kings and other private gentlemen. The inscriptions extant bear witness to this fact. Mt. Tri-raśmi had another name, viz. Rukṣavarta (Rathāvarta). It has been stated in Jaina books that many Jaina monks took here[8] the holy vow of fasting unto death and went to heaven. We have already proved that Nahapāṇ and other Kṣaharāṭa chiefs and most of the Śatvahana kings were followers of Jainism. Hence the wars, that were waged for the region of Mt. Tri-raśmi, were not for political purposes but for religious ones.

We have proved above, that the change of capital from Painṭh to Amarāvatī took place long before B. C. 114. When did this change take place? Generally the district of Kṛṣṇā, in which Amarāvatī was situated, was under the power of the Kalinga kings. We must therefore try to find out the date, when that region must have been wrested from the Kalinga kings by these Śātakarṇi kings. Three dates suggest themselves as possible for such an opportunity. The first is about 415 B. C. when Śrimukh's rule ended and Gautamiputra Yagnaśri's rule began. The second

(8) Pp. 286, f. n. no. 37 states that Vajrasūri died on Mt. Rathāvarta. Vajrasensūri, one of his disciples, also died there. Chandragupta and his preceptor also went to the south, which thenceforth became a famous place of pilgrimage.

is somewhere between 392 B. C. (when Khārvel died) to B. C. 360 (when the Chedi dynasty ended). At that time Chandragupta and after him Bindusār, were on the throne of Magadh, and Gautamiputra Yagnaśri and after him Śrıkṛṣṇa, were on the throne of Āndhra. The third is B. C. 347 and thereafter, when Bindusār and then Aśok ruled in Magadh. Of these, the first is not probable because there is no evidence to show that this region–Kṛṣṇā district–came under Gautamiputra Yagnaśri's power. The second also is equally improbable, because Chandragupta was then on the throne. He had defeated the king of Kaling also and had conquered all the territory upto cape Comorin, leaving only a strip on the sea-coast for the Āndhras. The third date seems to be probable. By that time, Chāṇakya had already retired from active political life. Misrule and anarchy prevailed in Magadh due to the weak rule of Bindusār. The Āndhra king, taking advantage of the opportunity, had established his power of the whole of south India, beginning with the Vindhyā ranges. Hence, the Amarāvatī region must have come under Āndhra control during this time only. Probably the change in the seat of capital was therefore effected by Māḍhariputra.

(1) Śrimukh selected Painṭh as the seat of his capital in B. C. 427, when he founded his dynasty.

(2) Māḍhariputra Śātakarṇi changed it to Amarāvatī in 317 B. C. or thereabout. (If earlier, the change must have been made by Vadsatśri, at least not before B. C. 347).

We shall now consider, when the seat of the capital was re-shifted to Painṭh. From B. C. 317 to B. C. 114, the Āndhras seem to have been left undisturbed. In 114 B. C. Nahapāṇ began to harass them, and wrested from them some portions of the district of Nāsik. Hence, Amarāvatī must have enjoyed the status of the capital upto 114 B. C. Even after 114 B. C. it was left undisturbed. Nahapāṇ's rule was succeeded by that of the Gardabhilas. The Āndhras had very friendly relations with them. Both were Jains. There, therefore, existed no cause of conflict between them. This state of affairs continued upto the rule of Śivasvāti (No. 23). Being born in rather uncommon circumstances, a religious upheaval took

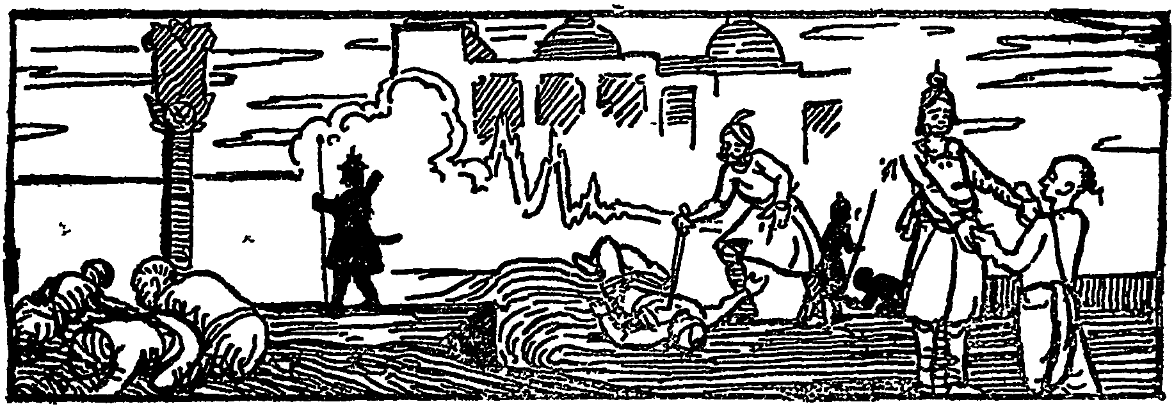
place during his reign and he gave up Jainism in favour of the Vedic religion. Naturally, there arose a sort of hostility between him and the Gardabhilas. In order to have a direct eye on the activities in Avanti and thinking that an attack upon his territory would be easier off Painṭh, he must have changed the seat of his capital from Amarāvatī to Painṭh. It seems that his and his successor No. 24's efforts against the Gardabhilas proved fruitless. No. 25—Chatrapaṇa Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇī, however, was not without success, when he tried to conquer Saurāṣṭra in about 105 A.D. (Inscr. 18). Both Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra continued to be under the power of the Āndhras upto 142 A. D. (Coin No. 76 of No. 25). During the meantime, No. 25 was succeeded by No. 26, who ruled peacefully for a long time. In the meanwhile, the rule of the Gardabhila dynasty ended. Mahākṣatrap Chaṣṭhaṇ became the ruler of Avanti. The first thing he did was to reconquer Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra from the Āndhras. Chaṣṭhaṇ was succeeded by Mahākṣatrap Rudradāman. After conquering Cutch, this young and ambitious ruler turned his eyes towards the Āndhra territory. He marched his army into the territory, routed the Āndhras (A. D. 155) and forced them to change the seat of their capital from Painṭh to Vaijayanti or Vijayanagar on the bank of Tungbhadrā. No. 27's seat of the capital was, therefore, Vijaynagar. Then began a steady decline of the dynasty, which divided itself into two branches—the eastern and the western. Below is given a synopsis:—

(1) B. C. 427; Painṭh selected as the seat of capital by Śrimukh.

(2) B. C. 317; Change to Amarāvatī due political exigencies. The Āndhras found that they could control the state affairs better from there.

(3) A. D. 70; Change to Painṭh, not due to the reduction in territorial extent, but for the sake of convenience. Amarāvatī was thus the Āndhra capital for nearly four centuries.

(4) Change from Painṭh for good (A. D. 155). We thus see that Amarāvatī enjoyed the status of the capital for more than double the time for which Painṭh did.



Chapter IX

Śatavāhana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(6) *Gautamiputra Skandha or Kṛṣṇa II—His time and the duration of his life—The Maski inscription by Priyadarśin; its date—His name—His conflict with Priyadarśin.*

(7) *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi or Śatavahan VII—His name, the duration of his life and his family—His change of religion and its consequences—Political repercussions of the religious change—Some epithets connected with the kings of this dynasty—His territorial extent; the true meaning of the term "Bordering lands" found in Priyadarśin's inscriptions—A peculiarity of his reign—His friendship with Patañjali.*

(6) GAUTAMIPUTRA SKANDHA-STHAMBHA KṚṢṆA II (Contd.)

His time, the duration of his life and his name

The Purāṇas are unanimous in allotting to him 18 years of rule. Hence the dates are B. C. 299 to 281 or thereabout. A slight change in his time was thought necessary and made before; but later thought has convinced me that the change is not necessary.

He must have come to the throne at the age of about 40 to 45 and must have died at the age of about 60.

The Purāṇas tell us that his name was Skandhstambh. All his other names have been connected with him by us for the following reasons. We have already stated that coin No. 62 (Chap. 3, Vol. II) bears the elephant (Priyadarśin's sign) on the obverse side. This means that Krṣṇa, whose name is found on the coin, was a Bhrtya (vassal) of Priyadarśin. Was this Kṛṣṇa the No. 3? That had to be ruled out, because No. 3 ruled much earlier than Priyadarśin. A study of the dates revealed to us that Nos. 6 and 7 were contemporaries of Priyadarśin. Of these two, the name of the 7th has been definitely stated to have been Vāsisthiputra Śātakarṇi. Naturally, therefore, Kṛṣṇa was the name of No. 6. The Dhauli-Jāgoḍa inscription of Priyadarśin supports this conclusion. So also do the Maski and Allāhbād inscriptions support it. He had to be called Kṛṣna II, because No. 3's name was also Krṣṇa. We have seen that the father and the son in this dynasty did not marry the daughters of the same family according to the prevailing customs and thus avoided confusion of the metronymics. Hence, if No. 5 was Māḍhariputra and No. 7 was Vāsiṣṭhiputra it would not be unreasonable to conclude that No.6 was Gautamiputra.[1] That also helps us to differentiate him from others.

Kṛṣṇa may also have been an adjectival epithet of this king. (Krṣṇa=black in character). It seems that in his conflicts with Priyadarśin, he acted in such a treacherous manner, that, had he not been a near relative of Priyadarśin, the latter would have

(1) Further study reveals to us that he called himself Gautamiputra. (Vol. II, coin no. 64).

ordered him to be executed after his defeat in the fight against him. The Sudarśan-lake inscription by Śāliśuk, the brother of Priyadarśin and the Dhauli-Jāgoḍa inscription support this theory[2]. It is stated clearly therein:—" Without treachery, after thoroughly conquering Śātakarṇi, he let him go alive owing to close relationship."

The Maski inscription

In the account of Priyadarśin we have stated that, at the places at which the Jaina Tīrthankeras died, he erected big inscriptions, and that at the places at which his relatives died he erected small ones. In the case of Mahāvīr, he erected tall pillars and installed lions upon them, because the lion was the sign of Mahāvīr, at places where he underwent hardships for the sake of religion. Maski inscription being a small one, must, therefore, have been erected in commemoration of a relative of his. It is situated in in the Raipur district of the modern Nizam state. In those times, both Kaling and this region were under the power of the Āndhra rules, and that was the reason why the Āndhras were called the lords[3] of Kaling. Of the two defeats inflicted by Priyadarśin on Śātakarṇi, in the Dhauli-Jāgodā inscription, one was at Maski during the reign of Kṛṣṇa II. We have just explained that Kṛṣṇa acted very treacherously in his fight against Priyadarśin. It seems that this treachery must have been in the form of the murder of a near relative of Priyadarśin at the place of the Maski inscription. Who was this relative ? Two names, viz, that of prince Tival and of Chāruvāki, are mentioned in the Allāhabad-Kauśambi Pillar. We have shown in Vol. II, pp. 263 that these names suggest that Chāruvāki was the sister of Śātakarṇi and that Tival was her son. Scholars believe (Smith "Aśok" pp. 198. f. n. 33) that this prince Tival must have died early, because he did not succeed Priyadarśin on the

(2) This proves that Priyadarśin is directly connected with the Sudarśan lake-inscription and with the Dhauli-Jāgoḍā inscription. Rudradāman only got the lake repaired at one time, and then in the inscription, he compared himself with Priyadarśin. (Appendix to Sudarśan lake, Vol. II).

(3) On the authority of Yugapurāṇ, the lord of Kaling is called "Śāta". The coins of Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 etc. show that Kaling was under their power, and for this reason they were called Lords of Kaling.

throne. All these circumstances lead us to the conclusion that either Chāruvāki or Tival must have been murdered at Maski. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Priyadarśin has not mentioned his own name in the inscription. We have explained this omission in Vol II, where we have shown that, so long as Aśok was alive (B. C. 271; 19 years after Priyadarśin came to throne), Priyadarśin out of respect to his grandfather, never mentioned his name in any of the inscriptions and on the idols–and they were innumerable–that he erected during Aśok's life time. It was only after his death, that he began to insert his name in them. He therefore at Maski simply wrote "Aśokassa" (of Aśoka) and then left some space vacant, in which, as we have already suggested, should have been inserted some word like "grandson" (Naptā) or descendant (Vamśaj). This incidentally proves that the battle of Maski took place[4] during the life time of Aśok. The fight probably took place after the murders. In political matters, even blood–relationship is sometimes forgotten, and that was the reason why Śātkarṇi murdered his own sister or her son.

The date of Maski inscription

We have stated that Skandha–stambha ruled from B. C. 299 to 282–1. Upto 289 B. C. Aśok was ruling in north India. He was too busy with affairs at home to turn his eyes southwards. Hence, Skandhastambha was left unmolested upto 289 B. C. Even during Priyadarśin's reign, he had no disturbance for the first six years, as Priyadarśin was busy conquering northern countries. In B. C. 284 however, Priyadarśin turned his eyes southwards and marched into the Āndhra territory, with the result that Skandha–stambha was defeated and had to acknowledge his suzerainty. The Kalinga inscription of Priyadarśin tells us that he defeated the Śātakarṇi king twice. The inscription was erected in 281 B. C. Probably, therefore, the Kalinga inscription bears reference to the second battle. We have stated above that Skandha–stambha died in 281 B. C. He must have died a natural death, since it has been expressely stated in the inscription that Priyadarśin let him go

(4) We have proved this in the account of No. 7.

alive because he was a near relative of his. Hence, the first battle took place in B. C. 284, after which Priyadarśin went to Avanti and stayed there for six months. In B. C. 283, Prince Tival or his mother was treacherously[5] murdered near Maski by the Śātakarṇi king. When Priyadarśin heard of this, he became very angry, marched against the Śātakarṇi king with a large army, and would have ordered his execution, had he not been a near relative of his. Śātakarni died a short time after his release, and was succeeded by No. 7. Priyadarśin led an invasion again into the Āndhra territory (reasons will be stated later on), defeated the king and forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Thus, we see that the Maski inscription was erected in about 282 B.C. As this fact is mentioned in the Sudarśan lake inscription by Śāliśuk, the reparation must have been effected by him after B. C. 282.

Causes of battles

We have repeatedly stated that in ancient times greed for land was conspicuous by its end, and that battles were most fought for religious causes. The three battles fought near Maski seem to have the same kind of origin. From the rock-inscriptions of Priyadarśin we understand that three years after his coming to the throne, he had gradually begun to be attached to his religion, devotion for which steadily increased with the passage of time. Whenever he achieved a conquest over a king, he or a member of the royal family married the daughter of the defeated king. So, after defeating Śātakarṇi king No. 6, he married his daughter (284 B. C.) named Chāruvāki, who gave birth to prince Tival a year later. The Āndhras were Jains, and hence there was no possibility of religious differences between them. So the murder of his own daughter or her son must have been perpetrated by him due to family dissensions. This murder made Priyadarśin furious. He marched against him, and would have ordered him to be executed but for the fact of his being a near relative. Soon after this defeat, the Śātakarṇi king died, and was succeeded by a young king, who felt very much the disgrace inflicted upon his dynasty by Priyadarśin. He,

(5) Some are of the opinion that no. 7 was guilty of the plot. That, however, is not possible, taking into consideration his youth.

therefore, began to harass the Jaina[6] pilgrims to Mt. Sametśikhar in Kaling (Vol. I, pp. 164). When Priyadarśin came to know this[7], he at once invaded the Śātakarṇi king and inflicted a heavy defeat upon him. The sight of numerous soldiers being killed in the battle shocked the tender heart of Priyadarśin, who, thereupon, took a solemn vow not to wage any more wars.

(7) VĀSISṬHIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI

Unlike other kings of the dynasty, this king was free from titles and epithets. His rule lasted for a long time. Little is known of the events that might have taken place during such a long reign. Generally all kings of the dynasty call themselves Śātakarṇis or Śātavahanas, thus showing that these two are not distinctive epithets. The names derived from the mother's family-name also recur at intervals, because the kings of this dynasty married daughters of the same families, there being very few high families. Hence, even family-names of their mothers are not much helpful in distinguishing the kings of this dynasty. On the contrary, one Gautamiputra has been mistaken for another, and so have been Māḍhariputras and Vāsiṣṭhiputras. (No. 2 for No. 29; No. 4 for No. 7; No. 17 for No. 26; and No. 18 for No. 25 or 29). Thus many mistakes have arisen due to this confusion of names. Dr. Rapson says (C. A. R. pp. 86, para 70):—' Andhra kings were known by different names in different districts of their own empire". Mr. Vincent Smith also (E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 186) says, "They are personal names". It is therefore absolutely necessary that a detailed inquiry and study of the coins of these kings should be undertaken by experts in this branch. It need not be said that such an inquiry will dispel many clouds of errors[8] and confusions and will go a great way towards helping us in understanding ancient history in its proper perspective.

Name, duration of life and family

(6) He had gradually begun to sever his connections with Jainism.

(7) Vol. II, pp. 320, f. n. no. 22.

(8) Many such instances have been given in the chapters on coins in Vol. II.

It is a rule, generally accepted, that if for three or four generations, the sons succeed their fathers in a dynasty, the third or the fourth in succession comes to the throne at a very early age. (Vol. I, pp. 85) According to that rule, Śātakarṇi VII must have come to the throne at the very early age of about 20. His reign lasted for 56 years and he died at the age of about 75.

His succeessor may have been his son. Little is known about his queen or queens. His sister was married to Priyadarśin in B. C. 284. He was the senior in age. His mother belonged to the Vasiṣṭha family.

Śātakarṇi VII came to throne with high ambitions. Inspite of suffering a reverse at the very beginning of his reign at the hands of Priyadarśin, his enthusiasm did not abate.

The chage of religion

Feeling jealous of the religious prowess and devotion of this · mighty emperor, he decided to give up Jainism in favour of the Vedic religion. In this decision he was supported and encouraged by Patañjali who was born in B. C. 275[9] and who had established his reputation as an authority on the Vedas. Śātakarṇi appointed him as the royal preceptor and converted himself to the creed of the Vedic. As long as, however, Priyadarśin was alive, not much could be done by him. In B. C, 236, however, Priyadarśin died, and was succeeded by Ṛsabhsen, his eldest son, who had spent a number of years in Afgānistān and Baluchistān, and who had, consequently imbibed not a little of the haughty temper of the natives of those countries. His religious zeal was an added impetus to this haughtiness. Hence in religious matters, he gave up the policy of tolerance and broad-mindedness, so wisely and uniformly followed by his father, and began to persecute the non-Jains. This was one cause of disturbances at Avanti. Again, his haughty nature alienated the sympathy and co-operation of his relatives, who, as opportunities came, severed their connections with him and

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(9) On the strength of this conclusion we have fixed that he died in 180 at the age of 90. He must, therefore, have been born in B. C. 270. In Vol. III, pp. 73, f. n. no. 32, an extract from an author states that he was born in 275.

established independent kingdoms. Śātakarṇi, incited by Patañjali, now saw his opportunity. He marched into Avanti with a large army, defeated Vṛṣabhsen and forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty[10]. He returned to his kingdom in B. C. 230 and performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In B. C. 227 Vṛṣabhsen died. The Śātakarṇi king accompanied by his trusted chief Puṣyamitra[11] again invaded Avanti, forced the successor of Vṛṣabhsen to acknowledge his suzerainty, performed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice at Vidiśā at the expense of the people of Vidiśā, and erected an inscription there in commemoration of his victory[12]. The author of C. H. I. says (pp. 530–1), "Twice, it appears, had Satakarni proclaimed his suzerainty by the performance of the horse-sacrifice and on one of the occasions at least, the victory thus celebrated must have been at the expense of the Sungas." The words 'Sungas' here, is of course, the result of insufficient information on the author's part. Having appointed Puṣyamitra as the commander-in-chief in Avanti, he went to his capital, where he died a year later in B. C. 225.

Religious upheaval

Infatuated by a beautiful wife, Aśok, as we already know, changed his religion (Jainism), and became an ardent follower of Buddhism, which enjoyed the status of the royal religion for the succeeding 35 years. The Śātakarṇi king gave up the religion of his ancestors in order to shine out in the political field. This revival of the Vedic religion by Patañjali, Puṣyamitra and the Śātakarṇi king had far-reaching effects. The weak successors of Priyadarśin, inspite of their zeal for Jainism, did more harm than good to it. When the rule of the Mauryan dynasty was over, and when the rule of the Śunga dynasty began in Avanti, the Vedic religion ruled supreme for a century. In the south, after the death of the

(10) In B. C. 418, Khārvel defeated Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh and then allowed him to remain on the throne, after forcing him to fall at his feet. Śātakarṇi defeated Vṛṣabhsen of Avanti in B. C. 230 and retaliated by forcing him to fall at his feet.

(11) It is possible that Patanjali might have accompanied him thither.

(12) See Vidiśā–Sānchi stūpa.

Śātakarṇi king in B. C. 226–5, his successors, Lambodar and Āpilik were only lukewarm in their regard for the Vedic religion and were being gradually converted to Jainism by the able preaching of Kāliksūri or Śyamāchārya (A. M. 335 to 375), an authority on Jaina scriptures and the holder of the title Pannavaṇākār. This Kālikasūri was the maternal uncle of the Śunga kings Balamitra–Bhānumitra. When Balabhānu the king's nephew became a Jaina monk under him, Balamitra, made with rage, ordered Kāliksūri to quit Avanti even though the rainy season had already set in. It appears, thus, that soon after the death of Śātakarṇi VII, Jainism was revived in Āndhra and continued to be the religion of all the Āndhra kings upto 22nd. It was in the reign of 23rd (Śivasvāti) that the pendulum began to swing towards the Vedic creed.

In the case of foreign races that settled in India, there were some titles like "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" which we have already explained. Some epithets–Śatavahan, Śātakarṇi, Gautamiputra, Vāsiṣṭhiputra etc. connected with the Śātakarṇi kings have already been explained.

Some epithets

The term Bhrtya has also been explained. It should be noted here that the Āndhra kings have not used the term " Bhrtya " in any of their coins or inscriptions. Perhaps they found it too humiliating to do so. There are some other titles like Vidivayakuras–Vilivayakuras, Śivalkuras etc. which require some explanation. I believe that they denote independence on the part of the kings holding them. Hence only those kings of the dynasty, who were independent, could append it to their names. The Bhṛtyas could not do so. The table given below will be helpful.

No. in the list	Title[13]	Proof of coins in vol. II
1	Vilivayakuras	No. 58
2	Do	„ 56
	No title	„ 69
(4)	No title	„ 70
3	Do	No coin
4	Do	Nos. 67–68
	Do	„ 71–72

(13) This point requires more study.

No. in the list	Title	Proof of coins in vol. II
4	Vilivayakuras	No. 57
5	Śivalkuras	„ 59
	No title	„ 60
6	Do	Nos. 63, 64, 66
7	Do	No. 62
	Nil	„ 73
	As a suzerain	„ 61

It should be understood, that by the time when rule of the 7th king ended, the custom of annexing all conquered territory had already begun. Hence the term "Bhṛtya" had no importance attached to it. Coins, only, continued to be struck in the old fashion. After Agnimitra performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and proclaimed his suzerainty, the distinction in the coins also disappeared.

Territorial extent

We know that Mallika Śri Śātakarṇi had become the master of a large territory. That territory was inherited in due succession by the Śātakarṇi king. We also know that the 5th king was the independent ruler of this territory, while the sixth had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Priyadarśin. The seventh king succeeded to the throne under the same condition. Jaina books tell us that Priyadarśin re-instated many kings on the throne, after defeating them in battles. Hence, we might assert, that excepting the small kingdoms of Cholā and Pāṇḍyā, Śātakarṇi was the ruler of the whole of Deccan upto the Coromāṇḍal coast, where his coins are found out. In Priyadarśin's inscriptions, the Āndhra territory has been described as the "bordering" land. Now, the kingdoms of Cholā and Pāṇḍyā are farther in south than the Āndhra territory. Does this, then mean that these two small kingdoms were quite independent and that Priyadarśin had nothing to do with them ? Looking to the sweeping victories and prowess of Priyadarśin, this does not sound possible. The emperor whose banner was unfurled over distant countries like Syriā and Turkey, must certainly have brought these two principalities under his hegemony ? Why then, has the intervening Āndhra territory been described as "bordering" land ? It might be explained as follows:—The Cholā and Pāṇḍyā chiefs were direct

relatives of the Mauryas. Hence, Priyadarśin might have maintained with them family relations and looked at them with parental eyes. The Āndhra territory, on the other hand, was under the rule of a dynasty not in any way connected with his race. Hence, he must have forced the Andhra king to acknowledge his suzerainty in due form and called the territory "bordering" land, because it was situated near the frontiers of his own territory[14] This kind of formal recognition he might not have considered necessary with the Cholā and Pāṇḍyā chiefs.

A peculiarity of his reign

Of all the many kings of the Śatavahana dynasty, only five can be put in the ranks of the great and the valorous. It also happens, though not always, that a long reign is full of praiseworthy and brave deeds by the king. Gautamiputra Yagnaśri (No. 2), Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi Ariṣṭakarṇa (No. 17), Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (No 24) and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chatrapaṇa Śātakarṇi (No. 25) were the kings, who, though their rules lasted about 25 years or thereabout, made their names worth remembering by their valour and good deeds. Of the three kings, however, who ruled for nearly 50 years, Mallikaśri Śātakarṇi's life has already been described, Śātakarṇi 7th's account will be given here, and that of Hāla Śālivāhan will be given in due course.

There is truth in the common belief that the Āndhras were the rulers of the Deccan. This should not, however, be taken to mean that none of the kings had anything to do with north India. Many a time the province of Berār and the Central Province were under their power (No 2.). Kings No. 17 and 18 had very friendly relations with the rulers of Avanti and helped them in their warfare against the Śakas. No. 25 had conquered Saurastra and Gujarāt. But this Śātakarṇi's achievement was unique. Of all the Āndhra kings, it was only he, who invaded Avanti twice, defeated the Maurya king, forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty and appointed his general Puṣyamitra as commander-in-chief there. Looking to the fact, that a little while ago he was under the vassalage of the same Mauryan dynasty, this is no small achievement.

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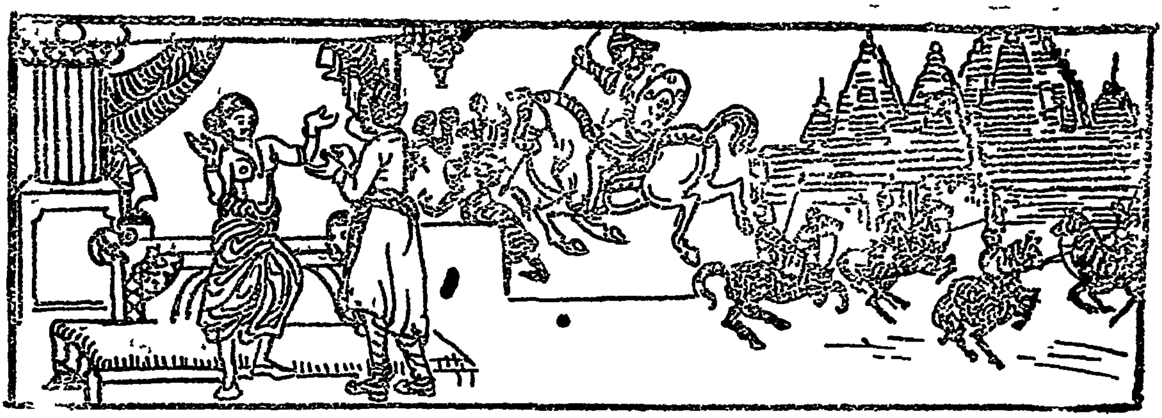
(14) Vol. II, pp. 273, 276, 320, 321 and 322 and footnotes.

Both Patañjali and Śātakarṇi were goaded into the revival of the Vedic religion, largely due to their jealousy of the achievements of Chāṇakya and Priyadarśin for Jainism.

Patañjali and Śātakarṇi

Patañjali was without doubt a deep and sincere scholar of the Vedas; but his active part in the political field and his spirited efforts for the spread of the Vedic religion were no less excited by his deep desire to emulate, and if possible, to surpass the achievement of Chāṇakya. Śātakarṇi thus found in him a ready helper in his desire to outshine Priyadarśin in the political as well as religious spheres. Hence, they united their efforts[15] and did what they could to imitate and emulate the achievements of Chāṇakya and Priyadarśin, who devoted their lives to the service of humanity for its own sake, and not for any ulterior purpose.

(15) We have already stated how Śātakarṇi, originally a follower of Jainism, converted himself to the Vedic religion.



Chapter X

Śatavahana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*(8) Lambodar; (9) Āpılık or Āpılak; (10) Āvi; (11) Meghasvāti I—Influence of the Vedic religion;—The revival and rise of Jainism under the influence of Kālikasūri;—Religion played a prominent part in ancient India—No true student of ancient Indian History can afford to ignore this—An answer to the charge that I am partial towards Jainism;—The conception of religion in those times.*

(12) Saudās or Sanghsvāti;—Religious wars during his reign;—Its connection with the inscriptions erected during the rules of Kṣaharāṭ and of queen Balaśri's son and grandson—Misinterpretations in history.

(13) Meghasvāti II; (14) Mṛgendra—His even-handed rule; (15) Svātikarṇa;—His queen Balaśri and her relation with kings Nos. 16, 17 and 18;—Proofs supplied from Purāṇik and Jaina sources.

(16) Dıpkarṇa or Dipkarṇi;—Reasons of his abdication;—Queen Balaśri's influence.

ŚATAVAHANA DYNASTY (Contd.)

(8) LAMBODAR: (9) ĀPILIK OR ĀPILAK; (10) ĀVI

We have been able at least to give some details about the first seven kings. As regards kings Nos. 8 to 15, it must be stated that very little has yet been found out. We have shown in the account of No. 7, that the Vedic religion had spread its wings over north India under the protection of the Śungas and that it was no less powerful in south India under the Śatavahana king. The Śungas, born brahmins as they were, adhered to the Vedic religion with a sort of inborn devotion. The Śatavahanas, on the other hand, could feel no such ties with the creed, adopted as it was after a precipitous severance of connection with Jainism, the religion of all their ancestors. Hence, after the death of No. 7, there again began a slow but steady swing towards Jainism. The Śungas persecuted the Jains in north India upto B. C. 196–5; when the rule of No. 10 began, the province of Vidarbha was under the power of Āndhra. Then Agnimitra invaded and conquered it. He also married a princess named Mālavikā, probably the daughter of a Mahārathi of Berār.

(11) MEGHASVĀTI I

Agnimitra was succeeded by Balamitra—Bhānumitra who were as orthodox in their religious beliefs as their ancestors. Meghasvāti, on the other hand, though ostensibly a follower of the Vedic religion, had a soft corner for Jainism also. Even Balamitra and Bhānumitra could not devote much of their time to the spread of their religion because they were busy—for many years—withstanding the onslaughts of the foreigners on the Punjāb frontier. It was in one of such battles that they were killed. Antialcidas, the Yona chief of Taxilā, had erected a stūpa at Śāñchi-Ujjain as a token for his sympathy with the religion of Bhāg–(Bhānumitra). This shows that Bhāg's devotion to his religion was of no mean order. This is further supported by the fact that when his nephew became a Jaina monk under the preceptorship of Kālikeūri, his maternal uncle, his anger knew no bounds and he ordered Kāliksūri to vacate Avantī, though the rainy-season had already set in. Kāliksūri was a great Jaina monk, who,

according to Jaina books, flourished from A. M. 335 to 376[1] = B. C. 192 to 151 = 41 years. He went to the south to Amarāvatī, the seat of the capital of the Āndhra king, who, though a follower of the Vedic religion, was very tolerant and sympathetic towards Jainism. In Jaina books[2] it has been stated (Bha. Bā. Vr. Trans. pp. 187) that he spent the remainder of the monsoon in Pratisṭhānpur where Śālivāhan ruled. We have already explained that the name Śālivāhan is a mistake[3] and that Pratiṣṭhānpur must have been a figurative epithet of Amarāvatī. A perusal of Jaina books also tells us, that the name of the city where Kāliksūri went was Antaranjikā. Whether this Antaranjikā is but another name of Amarāvatī or is altogether a different city is a matter for speculation. I incline to the opinion that it was but another name of Amarāvatī. After Kāliksūri's stay in Amarāvatī for a few days, the king approached him and asked, on what day the Paryusaṇ was to be celebrated, as he intended to take part himself in the celebrations. Kāliksūri replied that it could not be celebrated later than the 5th day of the bright half of Bhādrapad. As, on that day, the Indra–mahotsav was to be celebrated, it was decided that the Paryuṣaṇ was to be celebrated on the previous day. From thence began the custom of celebrating the Paryuṣan on that day. Kāliksūri was a very learned monk. He composed a religious treatise named "Payavannā" and has therefore been named "Payavannākār" by the Jaina writers. At the time, it seems to have also been decided that a month should end on the last day of the dark half of a month, instead of the bright half. These details make it clear that upto 150 B. C. the Śatavahanas were more or less under the influence of the Vedic religion. Thanks to the efforts of Kāliksūri, the tide began to turn in favour of Jainism.

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(1) According to some, his time is between 386 to 396. Possibly he lived for a decade or two more.

(2) Vide Bh. Bā. V. Bh. pp. 187.

(3) On another occasion, it was Hāla Śālivāhan who was on the throne. Thus events that took place in the reign of one have been ascribed to the reign of another.

With the advent of modern times, it has been generally accepted, especially by the rising generation, that religion is the opium of the people. It seems to be a very common and wide spread theory in our times that in every walk of life, religion is more a hindrance than a help. It was not so in ancient times. Religion, in those times, was considered to be—and really was—a liberator of the undesirable elements of a man's soul. By religion in those times, people did not merely mean performance of certain rites and rituals every day. Religion was their guide in every activity of life—small or great. Instances of religious orthodoxy and persecution, of course, are not quite absent from the history of those times. But, as an expression of the general conditions that prevailed in those times we might be allowed to state that the majority of people were imbued with a spirit of religious tolerance and catholicity, scarcely found in the times that followed.

Importance of religion in those times and composition of religious treatises

It has been the misfortune of the present writer to be dubbed as partial towards his own religion–Jainism. He, therefore, assures all his readers in full earnestness, that never throughout the writing of these pages, had to been guided by any other principles except those of truth, justice and impartiality. If the sad neglect of the study of Jaina literature by scholars of Indian history, leads them to judge and denounce me as partial, simply because I reveal to the reading world those truths of history which were hitherto lying in the abyss of darkness–truths that will certainly go a great way in changing the whole structure of ancient Indian history—I can have nothing to say to people who are not ready to hear to the dictates of reason, and who are blinded by prejudice pure and simple. It should be the inalienable trait of a student of history, that he approaches the study of a new theory with a mind as impartial as the rays of the sun. Otherwise, he has no claim to be one of the fraternity. I humbly put it to the notice of such readers, that no statement of mine has ever been made, simply because I desired that things should have been so. Every statement and theory have been supported virtually by a cart–load of evidence based on irrefutable sources, like the coins and the inscriptions,

The one aim that has governed me throughout the writing of these pages is the worship of, and the search for truth. Jainism, as a religion, is not confined to any caste or community. It has always welcomed members of all castes and communities under its fold and is unchanged at present in that. It preaches the restraint over and conquest of undesirable elements of man's soul and also teaches us that we should treat others as we would wish to be treated by them. Another small point, towards which I might draw the attention of my readers here, is that simply because a king has been stated to have been a follower of Jainism, he should not be taken to have either persecuted and acted against the interests of the followers of any other faith. On the contrary, kings who were followers of Jainism were always tolerant in their attitude towards followers of any other faith.

(12) SAUDĀS OR SANGHSVĀTI

Meghasvāti was succeeded by his son Saudās or Sanghsvāti. His reign seems to have been fairly uneventful. He must have come to the throne at the age of 40. The fact, that though No. 11 came to the throne at a comparatively later time in life, yet his rule lasted for 38 years, shows that No. 12 must have come to the throne at a still later age. His rule lasted for 29 years. Hence, No. 13 must have come to the throne in his old days only. No. 12 ruled from B. C. 145 to 116. Nahapāṇ ruled from B. C. 114 to 74. Inscriptions Nos. 31 to 33 (chapters 5 and 6) tell us that Ṛṣabhdatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ and Ayama according to the orders of Nahapāṇ his commander-in-chief defeated the Āndhra king and conquered from him some region in Govardhan-samay in which Nāsik, Kanheri, Kārle etc. are situated. This conquest was achieved at the end of Bhūmak's reign. Probably, therefore, the defeat was inflicted upon No. 12 in the last years of his life. The battle was caused by a desire on both sides to have control over Govardhana-samay, the holy place of the Jains. We should remember that both the kings were Jains and hence their desire proceeded from the same source. At the end of the battle, an inscription was erected by the conqueror and donations were also made. No. 12, therefore, must have been

killed while fighting. This was no occasion for a change in the seat of capital, as scholars believed it was. The change was made much earlier.

(13) MEGHASVĀTI II

He must have ascended the throne, as it has been already explained, at the age of about 50. No sooner did Nahapāṇ become the ruler of Avanti, than Ṛṣabhadatta, his son-in-law, began the unfinished task of conquering some of the holy Jaina places in the Nāsik district (B. C. 113). As stated in inscr. 35, that region was conquered and became a part of Nahapāṇ's kingdom. No. 13 may have died while fighting or due to the shock of the defeat. He was succeeded by his son Mṛgendra.

(14) MṚGENDRA

His rule lasted from B. C. 113 to 92 (21 years,) Throughout this time, Nahapāṇ was ruling over Avanti. As, however, all necesary conquests of the Jaina holy places in the Āndhra territory had already been achieved during the two previous reigns, he was left undisturbed by Nahapāṇ who was also too busy consolidating his position in Avanti. Hence, he ruled peacefully for twenty-one years.

(15) SVĀTIKARṆA

Queen Nāganikā and queen Balaśrī played a prominent part in the history of the Āndhras. Many inscriptions are to their credit. Kings, Nos. 2, 3, & 4, were connected with Nāganikā as we have already shown in their accounts. Balaśrī calls herself in the inscriptions, the mother of Gautamiputra and the grand-mother of Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Which kings were these? A glance at the dynastic list shows us that there were four pairs bearing these names. They were Nos. 17 and 18, 24 and 26, 26 and 27, and 28 and 29. Which of these pairs, were the son and grandson of Balaśri? We shall show later on, that she was the mother of No. 17 and the grandmother of No. 18. What relations had she and they, with Nos. 15 and 16? Let us discuss this below.

Queen Balasrī and her children

An article by Mr. D. C. Munshi, published in "Buddhiprakāś" No. 52 sheds some light on this problem. The article is entitled "The Śaka Kṣatrapas in Western India." We are not concerned

with many of the ideas stated in the article. We shall confine ourselves only to those extracts, with which we are concerned here.

(1) On pp. 51 it is stated, that there was a king named Vikramāditya of the Śātavahāna[4] dynasty. His father's name was Mahendra and that of his son was Kuntal. Somao the author of Kathāsaritsāgar believes that Vikramāditya Kuntal and Mahendra were the names of the same individual (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇ). The queen consort of Kuntal was Malayavatī, the princess of a country named Malay.

(2) Later on, the writer quotes an extract from Guṇāḍhya, a writer who flourished in Kuntal's reign and then states that Hindu gods, tired of the persecution of the Mlecchas requested Śiva to send a brave man to the earth to destroy them. Accordingly, a son named Viśalaśil (Vikrama–Śakti) was born to Saubhadrā, the queen of Mahendra[5]. (These Mlecchas were probably the natives of Ceylon whom No. 18 defeated).

(3) He states further on, that Vikrama–Śakti had three queens; one of Dakṣiṇāpath, another of Sinhal–Malaya, and the third was Kalingasenā of Kaling. He defeated all the kings all over India, and celebrated his conquest in Avanti on a magnificent scale. (The statement that he conquered all the kings of India seems to be an exaggeration. No Āndhra king ever conquered anything beyond Berār, central provinces and Saurāṣṭra, and that too for a time. True it is, that No. 17 had friendly relations with the rulers of Avanti and hence may have visited it. Vikramacharitra of Āvanti was at that time the suzerain of the whole of north India upto Kāśmir. These two kings, staunch Jains as they were, went together on a pilgrimage to Pālitāṇā, the most sacred place of the Jains and performed there many religious rites, under the guidance of great Jaina monks. Śātakarṇi got a pillar erected and gave a sum of money in donation.)

On pp. 42, he states on the authority of Pandit Jayasvāl,

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(4) Śātavāhan is a name which is very frequently found. The term "Śātavahān" seems to be a mistake.

(5) J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi.) Vol. III, pp. 52:—"One traditional account says that the Satavahan was born from a virgin aged four years; another traces his descent to a Yaksha". Vide the account of No. 23.

that according to Kathāsaritsāgar, Skandasvāti was the 15th descendant of Śātavāhana Śrimukh. Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa was his son, whose son Kuntal became a very valorous king (A. D. 78 to 83). During that time Chasṭhaṇ was ruling in Avanti. He was founder of the Śaka-kṣatrapi. Śātakarṇi defeated the Śaka and annexed all the territory upto Ujjain to his kingdom. This battle was fought in the region of Lāṭ in Gujarāt.

[Note:—(1) There seems to be no legitimate reason for the use of the term "Śātavāhana" everywhere. (2) In the original book, Skandasvāti is not described as the 15th king. (3) The sequence of Skandasvāti, Mrgendra and Kuntal disagrees with quotation no. 1 on pp. 367; evidently a mistake. (4) Kuntal did not rule for 8 years only. He ruled for 60 years or more as will be seen in his account. (5) Chasṭhaṇ was not a Śaka; neither did he rule from 78 to 83. A glance at the account of Chasṭhaṇ (vide ante) and that of Kuntal given later on, will show that they were not at all contemporaries. No Āndhra king ever became the ruler of Avanti. Queen Balaśri's inscription (Chap. V, No. 7) tells us that not only did Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi defeat the Śaka, but he exterminated them also. Chasṭhaṇ ruled over Avanti for a number of years and the rule of his dynasty lasted for more than 300 years. This proves that Chasṭhaṇ was neither a Śaka nor a contemporary of Kuntal. The coins of Chasṭhaṇ prove it, as an irrefutable fact, that he ruled over Avantī as an independent king.]

(5) He states later on:—"There flourished formerly in the Śātavāhana dynasty a king named Vikramāditya. Hence the poet praises his king by giving him this epithet".

[Note:—We have stated on the authority of Amarakoṣ (Vol. III, pp. 368, f. n. 10 and Vol. III, pp. 407) that Hāl Śatavahan was given the name Vikramāditya. Inscription No. 7, pp. 281 tells that Balaśri's son Gautamiputra had played an important part in defeating the Śakas who were fighting against Vikramāditya Śakari. Gautamiputra was succeeded by her grandson Vāsiṣthiputra. This proves that the Gardabhila king Vikramāditya Śakāri was a contemporary of Gautamiputra Śātakārṇi, the son of queen Balaśri. He was succeeded by Vasisṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, her grandson, who was also known as Hāl Śātavahan. Being a very valorous king, his poet

compared him to Vikramāditya of the Gardabhila dynasty. If it is intended that he was compared to a king of his own dynasty, then that king must have been none other than his immediate predecessor, who had so valiantly helped Vikramāditya Śakāri against the Śakas, and who in a later fight, killed the Śaka king. In short, the Śūdrak[6], who according to Amarakoṣ preceded Hāl, is none other but Vikramāditya. This also proves that Hāl was not a contemporary of Śakāri Vikramāditya.]

The information given in the above five extracts may be summarized as follows:—(1) Kuntal was the son of Mahendra and Subhadrā. (2) He defeated the Mlecchas of Ceylon and married Malayavatī, the daughter of the king of the country. She was established as the Queen consort. (3) Kuntal being a very valorous king, the poet at his court compared him to Vikramāditya, who flourished a generation before him. (4) Kuntal was born under divine circumstances and his another name was Vikramaśakti. (5) This Vikramaśakti may have had many queens, of which three are well-known. (6) He erected a commemorative pillar in Avantī. He had friendly relations with kings of Avantī and Kāśmir. He seems to have toured in Saurāṣṭra on more occasions than one. (7) Pundit Jayasvālji has allotted only 8 years of rule to Kuntal on the authority of the Purāṇas. That seems to be a mistake. He ruled for 60 or 68 years. Probably his father ruled for 8 years. (9) Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the son of Balaśrī, helped Vikramāditya Gardabhil against the Śakas. This battle was fought in Gujarāt. (10) Hāl Vikramāditya was the grandson of Balaśri. Hence, he could not have been a contemporary of Śakāri Vikramāditya. (11) Chasṭhaṇ and Hāl were not contemporaries at all.

Let us now try to fix up the relations between kings Nos. 15 to 18. Inscription No. 8 (Chap. V) tells us that at the time of its erection, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi was passing through the 24th year of his reign, and that at that time his elder brother, i. e. the elder son of Balaśrī, was alive. Due to some reason or

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(6) "Śūdrak" means one born in the Śūdra family. The Āndhra king, as we know, was born of a Śūdra mother. Vikramāditya belonging to this dynasty may well have been called Śūdraka Vikramāditya, who was a contemporary of Śakāri Vikramāditya.

other, this elder son had given up his throne and the younger son succeeded him, because the elder had no son at that time. The inscription also tells us that a short time after the erection of this inscription, Gautamiputra died and was succeeded by the son of the elder brother. This means, that Svātikarṇa the 15th king was the husband of Queen Balaśrī and that he had two sons by her. As to the name of the elder son, it is stated in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 64:—"Hala Satavahana was the son of Dipkarni". Again, on the authority of the Purāṇas, we have already proved that the name of the 17th Āndhra king was Aṣṭikarṇa. Thus, Svātikarṇa had two sons named Dipkarṇi and Aṣṭikarṇa. Dipkarṇi succeeded Svātikarṇa as the 16th Āndhra king, but he gave up the throne probably because he wanted to enter the Jaina holy orders. He having no son at that time, Aṣṭikarṇa came to the throne as the 17th Āndhra king. Probably within 9 months, a son was born to the wife of Dipkarṇi. This son succeeded Aṣṭikarṇa on the throne as the 18th king at the age of 25, as we know that Aṣṭikarṇa ruled for nearly 25 years. Having come to the throne at an age of 25, he ruled for nearly 60 to 68 years. We may also note that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi was but another name of No. 17 and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi was but another name of No. 18.

(16) MAHENDRA; DIPKARṆI; GAUTAMIPUTRA

He was the elder son of Svātikarṇa and Balaśrī. He can also be called Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, like his younger brother who succeeded him as No. 17. According to the Purāṇas, his another name was Mahendra, and the name of one of his queens was Subhadrā, of whom was born Hāla Śālivāhan. According to the Purāṇas, his rule lasted for 8 years; in the dynastic list, we have given him only 3 years of rule. Any way, he and his brother ruled altogether for 28 years. It matters little if we ascribe two or three years more to No. 16. I rather incline to allotting him 3 years only. No. 17 died in B. C. 47. That is a historical fact.

The reasons of his renouncing the throne are not definitely known. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ariṣṭakarṇa, because he had no son at that time. A short time later, however, a son was born, who succeeded Ariṣṭakarṇa at about the age of 25. Inscription No. 8 tells us that Balaśrī was alive upto B. C. 29,

i. e. upto the 19th year of the rule of this son of Mahendra. Looking to the words in her inscription, we cannot help feeling that she played an active and prominent part in the affairs of administration. She must have been consulted when No. 16 renounced the throne, No. 17 succeeded to it, and when No. 18 was coronated. Scholars have interpreted the phrase "whose son is living" in inscr. No. 8 to mean, that her son Gautamiputra was seriously ill and that she therefore was the regent. That, however, as we have already proved, is far-fetched. No doubt, when No. 18 came to the throne, he was a young man and he, therefore, must have been helped and guided by her.

Jaina books furnish us with an instance of Balaśrī's impartiality and sense of justice. In the account of the 6th Ninhav (out of 9), named Rohagupta Trai-rāśik, that he defeated a rival in religious discussion, at the court of king Balaśri of the city of Antaranjikā. His precepter, however, snubbed him when the latter began to grow hilarious over the subject of his success. Consequently, he ordered Rohagupta to go and beg pardon of his rival. Rohagupta disobeyed the order and challenged his preceptor for religious discussion. The debate lasted for six months, at the end of which, the preceptor came out victorious; and Rohagupta was excommunicated. The question is whether the name is "king" Balaśri or "queen" Balaśrī. In K. S. S. pp. 128, his time is stated as 444 A. M.; while in other Jaina books the time has been stated as 544 A. M. The latter number seems to be the mistake of a scribe. As we have so often shown, such mistakes were very common in those times. For instance, Kālıksūri has been stated as a contemporary of Śālivāhan, though he was not. The better interpretation is to take, that the discussion took place in the presence of Queen Balaśrī. We are not definite about the date of Dipkarṇi's death. It is, however, quite certain that he was alive upto the 24th year of his younger brother's reign (Inscrs. Nos. 7 & 8); i. e. upto 48 B. C. If we accept that he came to the throne at the age of 25, we can say that he died at the age of 52. Balaśrī died in about B. C. 26. If we accept that when her husband came to the throne in B. C. 92, she was about 25, then she must have been born in B. C. 117. Thus she died at the age of about 90.



Chapter XI

Śatavāhana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(17) *Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi or Ariṣṭakarṇa—His names and the duration of his life—His wars with the Śakas and the dates of these wars—The place of the battle of Kārur—Some details about the Śakas, who were exterminated by him—His wiping off of the stain on the reputation of his predecessors—The cause was not political but religious—The distinctions between Gautamiputra Vilivāyakuras, Gautamiputra Yagnaśri and Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi—The difference between Dakṣiṇāpathapati and Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar—The reason why the Āndhras were called Kalingpatis—Different titles connected with those Āndhra kings, who were called Vāsiṣṭhiputras—Details about Amarāvatī, the seat of the capital—The political views of Gautamiputra—His donations at the time of his death and the possible establishment of a council.*

(17) GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARNI OR ARIṢṬAKARṆA

We know that when his elder brother gave up the throne, he came to the throne in about 72 B. C. and that his rule lasted upto 47 B. C. i. e. for 25 years. In C. A. R. pp. 66, it is stated on the authority of the Bhagavatpurāṇ that his name was Aniṣtakarman. This name must have been given, probably because Ariṣṭakarṇa was a Jain (Vol. II, Coin No. 75). In the Yuga-purāṇ[1], however, he has been praised as a brave and valorous king. He helped, as we know, Śakāri Vikramāditya against the Śakas, and was called Śudrak Vikramāditya, in order to distinguish him from Śakāri Vikramāditya, and in order to suggest his low origin. The Śaka king, who was defeated by the joint strength of Śakāri Vikramāditya and of Ariṣṭakarṇa, again challenged Ariṣṭakarṇa to a battle. As is described in the Yuga-purāṇ, where he has been called "Kalinga-pati Śāta", the Śaka king was defeated and killed. This second battle took place a few months after 57 B. C. Ariṣṭakarṇa died a peaceful death in B. C. 47. Taking into consideration the fact that Balaśri's elder son came to the throne at the age of 25, this younger son must have been born in 97 B. C. Hence, in 47 B. C. at the time of his age, he must have been about fifty.

The dates of his wars with the Śakas

We know that he had to wage two wars against the Śaka king. In the first, he was the helper of Śakāri Vikramāditya, and in the second, he fought against him alone and killed him. In Inscri. No. 13 of Queen Balaśrī, he has been described "to have restored the glory of his forefathers and destroyed the Śakas." These words indicate that the second fight was fought on the battle grounds of Kaling, and that the Śakas were exterminated in it. The Yuga-purāṇ supports this. We, therefore, safely come to the conclusion, that in the first battle against the Śakas, he was a helper of Śakāri Vikramāditya, and that in the second, he exterminated them. The first battle may have been fought in Saurāṣṭra, where

(1) G. V. S. "Buddhiprakāś", Vol. 76, pp. 88, an article by Diwān Bahādur K. H. Dhruv, "that peaceful king".

the Śakas were biding their time due to the rainy season. We also know that the Śakas were invited by Kāliksūri to redress the grievances inflicted by the king of Mālvā, and must, therefore, have fought their battle with the king of Mālvā, where they had established their power and from which they had to be driven out. Hence, the first battle was fought in B. C. 57 and the second in B. C. 56.

The place of Kārur

We have stated in the previous volume that the battle between Śakāri Vikramāditya and the Śakas was fought near Kārur. We have here to find out the situation of this place. It may be noted in this connection that Vikramāditya, when his father Gandharvasen was defeated by the Śakas, had taken refuge in the territory of Āndhra kings, where he stayed for seven years. Hence, when after seven years, he led an invasion against the Śakas, he must have marched northwards towards Avanti. Naturally, Kārur must have been situated somewhere between Avantī and the Āndhra territory. Probably the fight must have taken place on the outskirts of Avantī, whither, the Śaka king, hearing of the invasion, must have arraged his army to oppose him. One suggestion for the identification of Kārur is, that it is but another name of Mandsore. The difficulty that prevents us from accepting this suggestion is, that it is situated on the north of Avanti, while as we have just proved, the battle must have taken place in the south of Avantī. Another suggestion[2] is, that it is the same as the old city of Māhiṣmatī in the Vindhyā Ranges, near modern Mahu. This agrees with our theory of the flight having taken place on the southern borders of Avantī. Though Māhiṣmatī, is as shown in the map, situated on the north of the Narmadā, we might suggest that Kārur was situated in the hilly region between the Tāptī and the Narmadā.

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(2) A piece of evidence would have been very valuable. "Buddhiprakāś" Vol. 81, No. 1; an article by D. C. Munshi; there are extracts there from Pandit Jayasvāl, it is stated therein that the battle was fought in Lāṭ.

According to Kathāsaritsāgar, the battle took place in Lāṭ.

In Nāsik Inscription No. 7, it is stated that Gautamiputra, the lord of Bennākaṭak, issued an order from his military camp at Vaijayanti, to his governor over the province of Govardhan Samay, that the donation previously made by Ṛṣabhdatta was henceforth to be transferred to his name. The date stated is B. C. 54, the 18th year of his reign. This statement suggests the following four things:—(1) In B. C. 54, he was the lord of Bennākaṭak, meaning thereby that Amarāvatī had been selected as the seat of the capital long before B. C. 54. (2) He personally led armies to the fields of battle. (3) The province of Govardhan Samay was under his power. (4) Upto 54 B. C. he was not in a position to transfer the donation to his name.

The end of the Śāhi dynasty

Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 31 to 35 tell us that Ṛṣabhdatta made certain donations in that province, during B. C. 118 to 113. In the account of Nahapāṇ, we have shown, how his son-in-law, Ṛṣabhdatta, attacked this province under his instructions. Thus the names of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhdatta have been connected with these donations. Nahapāṇ died in B. C. 74. Ṛsabhdatta was, however, alive and Gautamiputra could not make the change in the authorship of those donations, so long as he was alive. In Vol. III, Chap. X, we have shown how the Śakas, at the instance of Kāliksūri, landed in Saurāṣṭra in B. C. 65, then attacked the king of Avantī, defeated him, and established their empire there. In B. C. 57, Śakāri Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas, and drove tem out of Avanti. In Saurāṣṭra, however, the rule of the Śāhi dynasty yet continued. The Śāhi, as we know, were a branch of the Śakas. The statement in the inscription that in B. C. 54 Gautamiputra issued the order for the change in the name of the donors, suggests that the Śāhi dynasty had ended by that time, or at least that Ṛṣabhdatta was already dead by that time. We have also shown that Gautamiputra exterminated the Śakas in B. C. 56. Inscription No. 7 tells us that the Śakas, the Kṣaharāṭas and the Yavanas were destroyed in B. C. 54. We may, therefore, conclude that, though Ṛṣabhdatta died in B. C. 58, his son's rule continued at least upto 54 B. C. or 52 B. C. when he died.

Inscription No. 13 contains a reference to the vindication of the reputation of the Śatavahana dynasty at the hands of Gautamiputra. Scholars have taken the reference to mean as follows. During the rule of Nahapāṇ, his son-in-law Ṛṣabhdatta and his commander-in-chief Ayama, defeated the Śātakarṇi king, conquered all the territory around Nāsik and forced him to change the seat of his capital from Paiṭhaṇ to some other place. Obviously this was a great stain on the dynasty. Later on, Balaśri's son Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, exterminated the Kṣaharāṭas and the Śakas, got Paiṭhaṇ, the old seat of the capital repaired and resuscitated it as the seat of his capital.

The change in the seat of the capital had no connection with the wiping off of the stain

There are some drawbacks in the theory, which we shall try to point out below. The change in the seat of the capital, to Amarāvatī was made long before the Śātakarṇi's defeat at the hands of Ṛṣabhdatta. The battle took place not due to political reasons, but due to religious ones—due to the sacred places of the Jains in the Govardhan Samay. When the Śakas and the Kṣaharāṭas were exterminated, no change was made in the seat of the capital. The following reasons will convince the readers of the truth of our theory. (1) There arises no question of the change in the seat of the capital because no such previous change was made, due to the reasons stated above. (2) The interpretation of " Navanarsvāmi " in No. 13, as " Navanagar " is nothing but an attempt to defend one mistake by another. (3) Both Ṛṣabhdatta and the Śātavāhana kings have made donations in this region, thus proving that the wars were due to religious reasons. (4) Many years after the extermination of the Śakas, a change was made in the seat of the capital, just as many years before the conquest by Ṛsabhdatta, a change was made to Amarāvatī. So these wars have no connection with the change in the seat of the capital. (5) This region was lost by the Śātavāhana kings in 114 B. C.; but they must have reconquered it long before B. C. 57, because in that year, the armies of Vikramāditya and of the Āndhra king marched through this region, which could not have been, had the region not been in their power.

Gautamiputra Vilivāyakuras and Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi

Inscriptions Nos. 5 and 6 (Kanheri) have made Dr. Rapson doubt whether Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Vilivayakuras and Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi, who superimposed his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ, were one and the same individual or not. In para 29 of his C. A. R. he has, however, stated on the authority of inscription No. 17, " The edict is to the effect that a certain field upto the present time in the possession of Ṛṣabhdatta shall be secured etc." This extract means that he has at last come to the conclusion that both the Śātakarṇis were names of the same individual. A study of facts and evidence leads us to the conclusion that they were different individuals. The reasons are as follows: (1) One is called Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, while the other is called Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. This shows there is difference in the very names. (2) No coin of Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi (Nos. 64, 69) bears his portrait-head. The coins of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, on the other hand, bear both the portrait-head and the letters (No. 75). This shows that coins of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi were struck after the Āryans came into contact with the foreigners, while the coins of Yagnaśri were struck before such influence permeated India. That denotes a long interval of time between them. (3) The inscriptions have the same tale[3] to tell. In inscription No. 7 Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi has issued an order to change the donations to his name, which were upto that time in the name of Ṛṣabhadatta. This shows that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi flourished before Nahapāṇ. Gautamiputra Yagnaśri, on the other hand, flourished long before Nahapāṇ. (4) The coins of Yagnaśri bear the sign of bow-and-arrow, the sign adopted by the dynasty at the time of its inception, indicated the Śūdra origin. The coins of the other bear the portrait-head, a much later idea, (5) The coins of the first do not bear the Ujjain-symbol. The coins of the second do.

Having thus proved that they were different individuals, we

(3) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, Vol. III; E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 21. "Nahapāṇ's coins were restruck by Gautamiputra".

now turn to the question of their dates. As regards Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, it is stated[4] in C. A. R. pp. 48, "There can be little doubt in any case, that it indicates recent transfer of the Government in the Nāsik district from the Kṣaharāṭas to the Āndhras". We have shown that this transfer took place in B. C. 54. The author of J. B. B. R. A. S., on the other hand, states[5]:—"This proves conclusively that Nahapan and Gautamiputra were not contemporaries but were separated by a very long period". Thus, we see that one writer holds that Nahapāṇ and Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi were contemporaries, while the other holds that there was an interval of a century and a half between them. The second theory sounds improbable, because had there been an interval of 150 years between them, there could have been no coins of Nahapāṇ extant to be superprinted by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. We know it for a fact that Nahapāṇ's rule lasted from B. C. 114 to 74, and that the region of Govardhan–samay was reconquered by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi in B. C. 57. So the work of superprinting must have taken place some time between B. C. 74 and B. C. 57, or at the most from B. C. 114 to B. C. 47, the year in which Gautamiputra died. Hence it will not be far from truth if we hold that they were contemporaries.

As regards the time of Gautamiputra Yagnaśri, we have already proved that he ruled from B. C. 414 to 381, and that he was the second king in the dynasty. Coins Nos. 64, 65 tell us that No. 6 was also called Yagnaśri. Even if we accept this, the interval between him and Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, would be no less than three centuries.

The difference between Dakṣiṇāpathapati and Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar

Queen Balaśrī has several inscriptions to her credit, in which she has mentioned the names of her son (No. 17) and of her grandson (No. 18). In No. 7 she describes her son as "Dakṣiṇāpathapati", and in No. 13 she has described her grandson as "Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar". Both these inscriptions were erected during the 19th regnal year of the respective kings and

(4) Chap. V, No. 7.

(5) New edi. Vol. III, pp. 65.

hence the dates of their erection are B. C. 53 and B. C. 28 respectively. In the case of No. 17 the son, a long list of countries and mountains is given; while in No. 18 the grandson, is simply described as Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar. This gives an impression that No. 18 has much smaller territory to rule over than No. 17 Dr. Rapson[6] seems to be inclined to this view when he says:—"It is significant that in this inscription the territorial title which Gautamiputra won by his conquests is not inherited by his son, who is simply styled "Lord of the Deccan" (Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar)". Later on, however, he says:—"While the place names in the inscription thus merely record the conquests of Gautamiputra and in no way represent the extent of his empire etc." In short, he is not very clear whether No. 17 had larger territory than No. 18 or vice versa. We have discussed the problem below in some details[7]. It will be clear from that, that the countries which are mentioned in the inscription, were only inherited by him at the time of his succession to the throne. There was no question of conquering them. The inscription itself was erected not in commemoration of his conquests of these countries but in commemoration of the extermination of the Śakas and the Ksaharāṭas at his hands. No. 18, on the contrary, not only inherited all the territory that was under the power of No. 17, but extended his empire by conquering many regions in south India and Ceylon. Again, "Iśvar" signifies greater power than does "Pati" In short, the title "Dakṣiṇāpateśvar" signifies larger territory than the other title.

Kaling under the Āndhra rule

It has been a common belief that the Śātavāhana territory never extended beyond the mouth of the Godāvarī. We have, however, proved in the accounts of Nos. 4, 5 and 6 that they were lords of all the territory consisting of the northern part of the Madras Presidency and Orissa. No. 6, as we know, was defeated by Priyadarśin[8] and was re-instated on the throne by him. No. 7,

(6) Chap. V, No. 13.

(7) Details will be given in the account of No. 18.

(8) Dhauli-Jāgoḍā inscription by Priyadarśin (ante pp. 78, f. n. no. 62).

during the major part of his reign (so long as Priyadarśin was alive), could not lift his head. But soon after the death of Priyadarśin, he conquered the whole of Kaling, and from that time onward, right upto the rule of No. 17, the Śātavāhanas were also styled " Lord of Kaling ". The Yugapurāṇ tells the same tale. (Vol. III pp. 350). Thus the Āndhra empire consisted of the whole of south India, except some regions in the extreme south.

Kings in those times were not covetous of land. It would, therefore, be very wrong to take for granted that whenever a battle was fought, the underlying motive was grabbing of some more territory. No. 7, as we know, invaded Avanti, not with a view to making Avanti a part of his empire. His motive was religious. After defeating the Mauryan king, he re-instated him on the throne and left behind him his able general Puṣyamitra, for the spread of the Vedic religion. In the same way, No. 17 helped Śakāri Vikramāditya, not because he wanted any more territory, but because he wanted to free the people of Avanti, from the persecution of the Śakas and to restore the right claimant to the throne. Conquest of land[9] was never a motive with kings in those times.

Vasisthiputra and the epithets connected with it

There were several kings in the dynasty who were called " Vāsiṣṭhiputras ", just as there were several who were called " Gautamiputras ". We have given below a list of kings with whose names this epithet is connected:–(1) Vilivayakuras. (2) Vidivayakuras. (3) Vāsiṣṭhiputra, (4) Pulumāvi, (5) Catrapaṇ, (6) Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Of these Chatrapaṇ is the name of No, 25 only and Yagnaśri Vāsiṣṭhiputra of the 29th only. There now remain, therefore, only four to be considered. Again Vilivāyakuras refers to No. I only (coins 67, 61), and Vidivāyakuras to No. 4 only. We, therefore, consider the remaining two below.

First of all we turn our attention to "Pulumāvi". Three kings, Nos. 7, 18 and 26 have been found to be holding this title. Of

(9) The same mistake has been committed in the case of Rudradāman, in the Sudarśan lake inscription.

these No. 26 is also called "Gautamiputra", and hence his position is very clear. We have now to consider, Nos. 7 and 18. Both were brave and ruled for a long time. Hence it is likely, looking to the similarity of their names and epithets, that events connected with one may be ascribed to the other. No. 7, as we know, was a contemporary of Priyadarśin and was defeated by him and had to remain under his vassalage for the major part of his reign. Hence, his coins which bear the "Elephant" symbol of Priyadarśin, can easily be distinguished from those of No. 18. Inspite of such means of distinguishing one king from the others in this dynasty, even great scholars have sometimes committed mistakes about them. For instance Dr Bhau Dāji says in J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 237:—We have long and valuable inscriptions of Gautamiputra who has hitherto been looked upon as the father of Pulumavi as wrongly stated in the Purāṇik list. Gautamiputra, however, appears from one of the Nasik inscriptions to have been the son of Pulumavi. ', Had Dr. Bhāu Dāji taken into consideration the fact that there were more than one Pulumāvis in the dynasty, he would have come to a different conclusion.

Amarāvatī

In Chap. IV, we have given some details of Paithaṇ and Amarāvatī and stated the periods for which they were the capitals of the Āndhra kingdom. We shall now try to find out the exact place, where Amarāvatī was situated. As already stated in Vol. I, in the account of Bennākaṭak, Amarāvatī was situated near Bezwāḍā on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the Madras Presidency. At present there is at this place a small village named Amarāvatī. Near this village is situated Warrangul. Scholars have been inclined to the view that Warrangul[10] was the capital of the Āndhra kingdom. We have, however, proved that the ancient capital of the Āndhras was situated at the same place where the small village of the same name is situated at present. From the ruins of the city has been

(10) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, New edi. article by Mr. Bukhle; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, Dr. Bhāu Dāji, pp. 239:—"Bennakatak is, I believe, identical with Warrangul, the capital of Telangana or Andhra".

found out a stūpa by Colonel Mackenzie (A. S. S. I. Vol. I, New Imp. Series, Vol. VI, 1882, pp. 23), who declared that it was connected with Jainism. Scholars, however, later on came to the decision that it was connected with Buddhism. We have proved, however, that it is connected with Jainism. It was built by Khārvel and is referred to "Mahavijaya Prāsād" in his Hāthigumfā inscription. It cost him 38½ lacs of coins. Inscription No. 10 (Chap. V), tells us that the 18th Āndhra king donated a large sum of money for this Stūpa.

In Vol. I, we have stated how Śreṇik came to Bennāṭaṭ (Amarāvatī) in 583 B. C. We gather from the description of the city that it was a flourishing emporium of trade and commerce by that date. Hence we come to the conclusion that it must have been founded at least two or three centuries before that time. Thus, like other ancient cities of India, Amarāvatī has enjoyed the duration of thousands of years and has seen many ups and downs.

His policy

It appears that he came to the throne not because he wanted it, but because his mother desired him to come when the throne fell vacant after his brother's renunciation. This belief is further strengthened by the fact that when a son was born to his elder brother, he did not do anything to prevent him from coming to the throne. Events also prove that he was never covetous of land. During his time, there was anarchy in Avantī due to the cruel rule of the Gardabhila king. Had he desired, he could have easily conquered Avanti, because he was powerful and because there was no other equally powerful king at that time. But he never liked to interfere in the affairs of others[11] in order to fatten his purse. When the Śakas conquered Avanti, it was he who gave shelter to the refugee princes of the Gardabhila king. When he heard of the cruel persecution inflicted upon the people of Avanti at the hands of the Śakas, he led an army against them, drove them out, and

(11) Queen Balaśrī's statement that he fought the battles for the sake of wiping off the stain on his dynasty is, after all, her interpretation of her son's motives for fighting, not his own.

re-instated Śakāri Vikramāditya on the throne of Avanti. The Āndhra king never desired to have part of the Avanti kingdom in return for these services[12]. Thus he was a noble-hearted king who rejoiced in extricating people out of difficulties and in helping people, on whose side there was justice. No wonder therefore that his poets eulogized him as the "Vikramāditya" of the Āndhra dynasty[13].

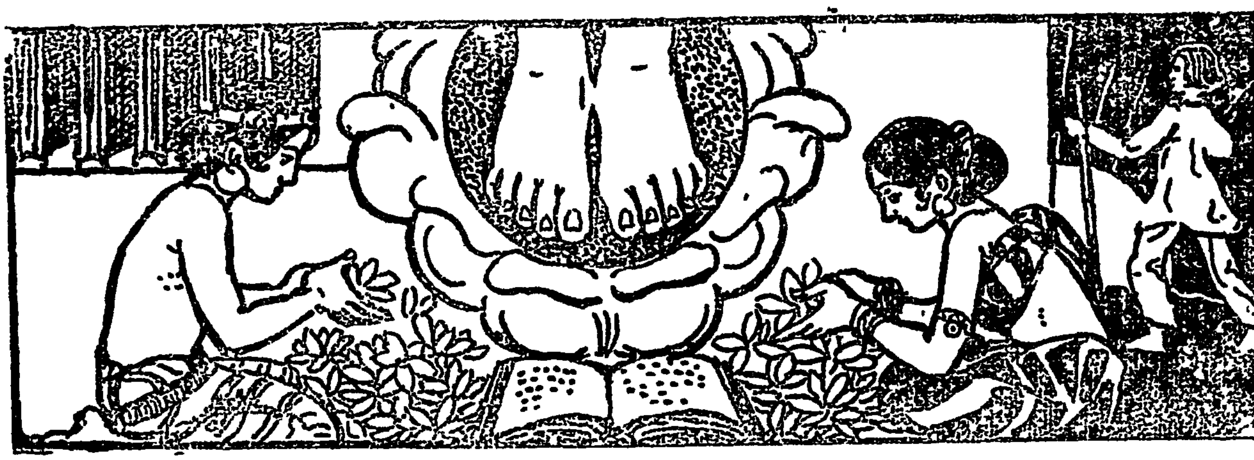
His donation at the time of his death and the formation of a council

Inscription No. 8 (Chap. V) tells us that he fell very ill during the 24th year of his reign, and that his illness lasted for nearly six months, as it appears from his two orders, issued at the interval of six months, to his governor in the Nāsik district. He made magnificent donations at the time of his death. As regards the council, all details have been stated in Chap. V.

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(12) Balaśrī was justifiably proud of her son.

(13) Inscription no. 18.



Chapter XII

Śatavahana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*Hāl; his names, titles and epithets—The members of his family—Some peculiarities of his reign—His territorial extent—The interpretation of the term "Navanarsvāmi"—His love of literature—Are Kuntal, mentioned in the Purāṇ and Hāl, the names of the same individual—Hāl's religious activities and donations—Inscriptions commemorating these donations—Govardhan-samay and modern religious places—Different causes of the erection of a Pillar and of a Stūpa—The Śaka era and the propriety or otherwise of "Śaka Śālivāhan"—Laws of nature—Birth of a great man in Europe—Details about terms like Chūṭū, Kaḍamb and Mahābhoji.*

(18) VĀSISṬHIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI; PULUMĀVI II; HĀL ŚĀLIVĀHAN

Hāl is the most well-known of all Śālivāhana kings. His father's name was Mahendra and his mother's was Subhadrā (pp. 369). He was the grandson of Balaśrī and the nephew of No. 17. We have already stated under what circumstances he came to the throne. He ascended the throne at the age of about 25 and had a long and prosperous reign of 65 years, dying at the age of 90. His rule lasted from B. C. 47 to 18 A. D.

He had several queens. The names of those that are known are as follows:—(1) Malayavatī of Śimhal or Malayadeś; (2) Kalingsenā of Kaling; (3) The third was a princess of some southern country whose name is not known. It has, moreover, been stated, "From political considerations, Kuntala married the princesses of many countries". Jaina books tell us that he had a queen named Chandralekhā, *whose name, according to the Purāṇas, was Malayavatī.* According to J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 66, Hāl married Lilāvatī, the daughter of king Sitāmegh of Sinhal and his queen Saraśrī. Probably, Malayavatī must have been but another name of Lilāvatī. We do not know the exact number of Hāl's children; but Mantalak who succeeded him as No. 19, must have been his eldest son. Probably, Mantalak came to the throne very late in life (60) and therefore, ruled for eight years only.

Various epithets like Hāl, Vikramāditya, Śāl and others which have commonly been connected with his name, have already been discussed. The Purāṇas have called him "Kuntal Śātakarṇi" and "Vikramaśakti", which also we have already discussed. His other titles, common found in inscriptions and coins are Vilivāyakuras, Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar, Śaktikumār and Mahāhakusiri. The first three have already been discussed on pp. 350 and the 4th has also been explained on pp. 379. As regards the remaining two, details have already been given in Chap. V. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3.

Of the 30 or 31 kings of this dynasty, Nos. 4, 7 and 18 have to be singled out as having ruled for more than 50 years. Peculiarities of Nos. 4 and 7 have already been stated in their respective accounts.

Both of them ruled for 56 years each. No. 18 ruled for 65 years. Secondly, his birth took place in auspicious circumstances, details about which have already been given in pp. 367.

Peculiarities

Thirdly, he was an ardent patron of literature and himself composed that famous treatise "Gāthāsaptasati". Of all the ancient kings who have been famous for their patronage of literature, only two, namely Vikramāditya of the Gardabhila dynasty and Hāl, can be singled out as authors of learned treatises. Fourthly, he conquered Ceylon. During the one thousand years, the history of which we have been writing in these volumes, only two achieved this feat of the conquest of Ceylon; one was Udayāśva of Magadh, and the second was Hāl. Udayāśva, however, had not himself led the army to Ceylon as Hāl did. That is the reason why of all the kings of the dynasty, the title Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar is applied to his name only. Fifthly, the Śaka era has been connected with his name. This problem we shall discuss in details later on.

It is quite certain that the territorial extent of Hāl was greater than that of his predecessor. On pp. 378 to pp. 379, we have quoted extracts from the Purāṇas in connection with

His territorial extent

No. 18. In one of the extracts it has been stated that he got a pillar erected in Avantī. In the account of No. 7, on the other hand, we have stated that of all the kings of the dynasty, the credit of having conquered Avantī goes to him only. We have, therefore, here to decide whether only one of them went to Avantī or both and to find out which is which. As a matter of fact, both got pillars (of course one's was a pillar and other's was a stūpa) erected in Avantī (No. 18, of course, got it done with a religious motive). As stated in the inscription by Balaśrī, northern countries like Surāṣṭra, Ākar, Avantī and Vidarbha and many northern mountains also were under the power of her son and of her grandson. The Purāṇas, moreover, tell us that No. 18 had friendly relations with the rulers of Kāśmir and Sindh. Now, No. 7 never set foot in Saurāṣṭra or in Lāṭ, both of which were under the power of Priyadarśin, who had defeated No. 7 and kept him under his vassalage. No. 18,

on the other hand, visited Saurāṣṭra in company with Vikramāditya and performed many religious deeds there. All these details prove that No. 7 had no connection with the kings of Kāśmir and of Sindh. These details, like birth in auspicious circumstances, contemporaneousness with the poet Guṇāḍhya, lordship of Navanar etc. are applicable to No. 18 and not to No. 7.

Over and above inheriting all the territory that was under the power of No. 17, he conquered many regions including the southern portion of the modern state of Mysore, the major portion of the Pāṇḍyā kingdom and Ceylon, which he had invaded, as we shall make it clear later on, for religious reasons, in the 19th year of his reign thus earning the title "Dakṣiṇāpatheśvar".

Navanarsvāmi
His fondness for literature

In inscription No. 14, which is stated to have been erected during the 22nd year of his reign, he has been stated as "Navanarpati", which the scholars have interpreted as "another name of Paiṭhaṇ[1]". Another writer states[2]:—"Padumavi is called Naravarsvami (a new king) and he has also the title of the Swami of Benakataka". We have made it very clear in our description of inscription No. 14 that the term "Navanar" means an assemblage of nine learned persons, who lived at his court. We have already stated that he was an ardent patron of literature and learning; and no wonder it is, therefore, that he was able to attract learned men to his court. Jaina books[3] also tell us that he has written a learned treatise in the Prākṛt language, and consider him as one of the four learned Jaina kings, namely, Vikramāditya, Śālivāhan, Munj and Bhoj. In "The Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak", Vol. III, Part II, pp. 171, we find his fondness for literature praised in glowing terms. Mr. Vincent Smith[4] also says:—"The anthology of erotic verses (Saptasati) professes to be the composition of Hāla and is ascribed by tradition to Śālivāhan, another form of Satavahana".

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(1) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. Vol. III, pp. 75.

(2) Ibid. Vol. VIII, pp. 239. Dr. Bhāu Dāji's article.

(3) Jainism by Glazānapps, Trans. by Jaina Dharma Prasārak Sabhā, pp. 64.

(4) 3rd edi. pp. 208.

Another writer states[5]:—"That Hāla by virtue of his political greatness as well as literary merits...Hāl is thus not only a great patron of letters but also a warrior who defeated the Simhālese". Another writer says[6]:—"It is possible that the collection is due to some court-poet, but is known as the work of Hāla.

We have already proved on pp. 367 to 370 that Kuntal was but another name of Vikramāditya Śālivāhan, according to the Purāṇas. The Jaina books, on the other hand, tell us that Kuntal flourished after Śālivāhan. If we study the Purāṇas minutely, we find that it has nowhere been stated clearly that Kuntal was another name of Śālivāhan. The conclusion, therefore, is the result of circumstantial evidence, which briefly stated, is as follows:—(1) Mahendra was the name of Vikramāditya's father; Vikramāditya, mentioned by Somadev seems to be the same as Kuntal. (2) Malayavatī was the queen consort of Kuntal. (3) The poet Guṇāḍhya has stated in Bṛhatkathā that Saubhadrā, the queen of Mahendra, gave birth to a prince named Viśalaśil or Vikramaśakti. (4) Vikramaśakti had three queens; one of Dakṣiṇāpath, another of Ceylon, and the third of Kaling. The poet Guṇāḍhya had given the epithet 'Vikramāditya' to him, in order to eulogize him. (5) Mahendra was the son of Skandasvāti. Mahendra was none other but Mṛgendra-svātikarṇa. Mahendra's son was Kuntal who was very brave. These are the conclusions arrived at by Pundit Jayasvāl. We can deduce from this that Guṇāḍhya, the author of Bṛhatkatha, was a contemporary of Kuntal. It is stated in "Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhak, Vol. III, No. 2 pp. 171":—Pādliptasūri, (the author of "Tarangavati-kathā") was a famous court-poet of this king. Guṇāḍhya was also the court-poet of the same king Hāl. Details about him have been stated in the introduction to Kuvalayamālā. This king belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty and is the author of "Gathāsptasati" a learned treatise in Prākṛt." All these extracts lead us to the conclusion that Kuntal was but another

Hāl and Kuntal

(5) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 65.

(6) J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi.), Vol. III, pp. 57.

name of Vikramāditya Sālivāhan. Mr. Pārgiter, in the dynastic list given on pp. 223, states that Kuntal was 13th and that Hāl was 17th and that the former ruled for 8 and the latter for 5 years. We have now been able to prove that these figures are not correct and that Kuntal was but another name of Hāl.

Religious activities of Hāl

It seems to have been a common belief among scholars that in ancient times, inscriptions and edicts and pillars were raised mostly with a view to commemorating political events. In the pages of these volumes we have proved it convincingly more than once that this belief has little foundation in fact and that the major aim of these relics was religious. I, therefore, request my readers to approach the study of these problems with an absolutely unprejudiced mind.

What religion did king Hāl follow ? Let us look to his inscriptions. The Nāsik inscriptions make it clear that at first it was under the power of the Śātakarṇi kings. Later on, Nahapāṇ's son-in-law Ṛṣabhdatta and his prime-minister Ayama conquered it. In course of time, the Śātakarṇi kings wiped off this stain by reconquering the district. Gautamiputra, No. 17, the conqueror, as inscriptions Nos. 7, 8 and 36 tell us, got the donations transferred to his name from the name of Ṛsabhdatta. This proves that both Ṛṣabhdatta and No. 17 belonged to the same religion. The very mention of donations to religious monks and of the year, season, month etc. corroborate this conclusion. Secondly, we find that the Bhilsā Stūpa[7] (Inscription No. 4) contains the name of Śātakarṇi[8], and also of Chandragupta Maurya[9], thus proving that these two kings also belonged to the same religion. Thirdly, it has been stated that No. 18, Pulumāvi Śātakarṇi (Inscr. No. 10), gave a sum of money as donation to that temple

(7) It should be remembered that stūpa and pillar are different things. The Sāñchī pillar was erected during the Śuṅga king Bhāg, by Antialcidas, the governor of Takṣillā, with a view to propitiate Bhāga (i.e. a political motive).

(8) See this paragraph for details.

(9) Vol. I, pp. 190; Vol. II, pp. 185,

named Mahāvijay (Chaitya), built by Khārvel, thus proving that he and Khārvel[10] belonged to the same religion. In short, Nahapāṇ Ṛṣabhdatta, Chandragupta Maurya, Hāla Śātakarṇi Pulumāvi and Khārvel were followers of the same religion. The coins of these kings have the same tale to tell. Hence they were all Jains.

It is stated in J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 143:—" That Shriman Satavahan repaired the Tirth, or sacred place (which cannot be made out without having the Prabhāvak Charita.) and the Padaliptasuri established the standard. " This means that king Hāl got some reparations carried out at Mt. Śatruñajay, under the guidance of Pādaliptasūri. " Prabhāvak Charita " was written eight centuries before our time, and there seems to be no reason to discredit what is stated in it. It is a Jaina work, and should be considered as much a source of truth as Buddhist or Vedic works. Dr. Bhāu Dāji, the author of the above-mentioned article, further states on pp. 144:—" In the Prabandhachintāmaṇi of Merutungāchārya and Chaturvinshati Prabhandh of Rājshekhar, another celebrity better known as Nāgārjuna in the Buddhist works, is stated to have been a contemporary of a Satvahana and Pādaliptāchārya. " In short, Nāgārjun, Pādaliptasūri and Śātavāhan were contemporaries. Nāgārjun was a pupil of Pādaliptasūri. Once upon a time both the preceptor and the pupil went to Saurāṣṭra and visited Mt. Śatruñjay. Donations by the Hāl king were made at that time. This Pādalipta was a disciple of Āryakhapūṭsūri[11], who was also at this time a pilgrim to Mt. Śatruñjay. This makes it clear that all these four persons were contemporaries, and that Āryakhapūṭāchārya was the oldest of them., and Nāgārjun, the youngest. Probably Nāgārjun and Pādaliptasūri were of the same age. looking to the fact that the latter entered the Jaina holy orders at a very early age. These facts now put Nāgārjun before

(10) Chap. III, f. n. nos. 12 aud 13.

(11) "Āryakhpūṭ" died in A. M. 484=B. C. 43. Pādaliptasūri studied under him. (Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā, Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 723). Hala's time was B. C. 47 to 17 A. D. This means that Āryakhapūṭ died 4 years after Hāla's coronation. Āryakhapūṭ was 70 at this time.

us in true light. Mrs. J. Stevenson, in his "Heart of Jainism" pp. 77–78 states:—"Two other events are supposed to have happened about this time, B. C. 56., the defeat of the Buddhists in a great argument by famous Jaina controversialist, an ascetic called Āryakhpuṭ, who lived in Broach; and the founding of Śatruñjaya in the state of Pālitāṇā. (Shatrunjaya, the Jains say, was built by a monk who had the power of rising through the air and by a disciple of his, who had the power of creating gold. This fortunate junction of talents has resulted in one of the loveliest temple cities in the world." The famous Jaina controversialist was Āryakhapūṭ. The extract means that Jaina temples were built on Mt. Śatruñjay. The term Pālitāṇā is but a deteriorated form of "Pādaliptasthān."

Pādaliptasūri, helped actively by his disciple Nāgārjun, who had not entered the Jaina holy order as a monk, got constructed and repaired on Mt. Śatruñjay, a row of fine and exquisite temples. As time went on, temples began to be built there in large numbers. Buddhist books also contain the mention of a certain "Nāgārjun", who was the chief Buddhist monk in the direct line of Buddha. We leave the scholars to decide whether there were two Nāgārjuns or one.

The verse given below is quoted from Prabhāvakcharitra, pp. 74, verse 84:—

Śri Śātavāhanākhyo bhūp idam Tīrthmudadhāra punah
Śri Pādaliptasūrır dhvajapratiṣṭhām vyadhāt tatra:

It means: a king named Śātavāhan made certain reparations at a holy place (Broach), and Pādaliptasūri performed there the flag ceremony. The following verse is from Śatruñjaykalpa of Dharmaghoṣasūri:—

Sampaı Vikkam-Vāhaḍ[13]-Hāl-Pālit-Dattarāyāī
Jam Uddharhinti tayam Sirisattumjayamahātitham.

"Reparations were made on Mt. Śatruñjay, the sacred place of pilgrimage, by Samprati, Vikram, Vāhaḍ, Hāla, Pādalipta and Datta".

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(12) See the f. n. no. 11 above.

(13) Vāhaḍ was the son of Udayan, a Jaina minister of Siddharāj and Kumārpāl.

We have stated on and often that Nāśik is full of inscriptions. In the region surrounding Nāsik (about 50 miles) are the inscriptions of Kanheri, Nānāghāṭ, Junner, Kārle etc. This region is also full of hills like Rukṣa, Kṛṣṇagiri etc. (pp. 286). It is possible that just as in former times, Śatruñjay was a big mountain with 108 summits and then in course of time these summits separated from one another, so there may have been a number of mountain-ranges connected together in the Nāsik district, and then these ranges may have dismembered themselves. Probably, during the time of queen Balaśrī and of her son and grandson, there may have remained there a three-peaked mountain, thence forward called Triraśmi, near which was founded the Traikūtaka dynasty. In short, the district of Govardhan-samay, of which Nāsik formed a part, was a sacred place of the Jains. (Inscriptions Nos. 7 and 13). Hence Rukṣa and Kṛṣṇagiri are names of only two of the many peaks of this mountain, probably named Rathāvarta, and called "Rathāvatananga" in Jaina sūtras (Āchārāng, Niryukti etc.). It is stated in "Prabhāvakcharitra", pp. 17, that Vajrasūri died here. It is stated in the account of his life that he had purposely gone there from Sopāraknagar knowing that he was about to die[14]. Thus this mountain was a holy place of the Jains[15].

Thus the five kings mentioned above were all Jains. Now we turn to the study of certain dates. Āryakhapūṭ is said to have died in A.M. 484 = B.C. 43[16]. Hence, Pādalipta must have studied under him sometime before that. This means that both Pādalipta and Nāgārjun must have flourished during the fifty years after 43 B.C. So also king Hāl, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhdatta flourished between B.C. 114 and 52. Queen Balaśrī's son, Gautamiputra who "restored the glory of the Satavahans" flourished between B.C. 72 to 47. Gautamiputra must have thus flourished after

(14) Chap. V, Inscr. No. 13, f. n. no. 37.

(15) Vol. III, Vide the account of Ābhir Iśvardatta. Vide the account of Śātakarṇi in Chap. 10.

(16) Nā. Prā. Pa. Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 723. "Jaina Kāl Gaṇanā" by Muni Śri Kalyāṇvijayji.

Nahapāṇ, because he got his portrait-head super-printed on the portrait-head of Nahapāṇ.

Now we turn to the study of a Stūpa, which is at Sāñchī. The Stūpa itself consists of a semi-sphere of stones or bricks & lime; and is erected at a place, where a person of prominence is dead. The wall that surrounds a Stūpa, the gates and other things in the compound, may have been erected at the same time as the Stūpa or at some later time. One thing is certain that the thing first to be erected is the Stūpa itself. The reader is requested to keep the above-mentioned things in mind, while reading the following extract from J. B. B. R. A. S. (New ed.) Vol. III pp. 56:-" This king Vasiṣṭhaputri Siri Satakarani is to be identified with one of the later Satakaranis." The same writer states further on:-" Mr. Chanda, (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. India No. 1, pp. 175) and Sir John Marshall assign the reliefs on the four gateways of Sanchi to the latter half of the first century." We have to remember that the Stūpa itself may have been erected centuries before the erection of these gateways in the first century. General Cunningham says in his "Bhilsā Topes" pp. 269:—" Those gateways were added in the reign of Siri Satakaraṇi between the years 19 and 37 A. D." We humbly submit that the date must have been between 1 and 17 A. D., taking into consideration the fact that the gateways were the work of king Hāl. In the reckoning of ancient dates, mistakes involving centuries are made, not to talk of a decade or two.

Now we turn to the Amarāvatī Stūpa. It is stated therein that Vāsiṣṭhiputra gave a sum of money as donation for the upkeep of the Mahāchaitya erected there by Khārvel This means, at the most, that Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhiputra flourished after Khārvel[17].

Some new factors

Certain villages have been mentioned in the inscriptions of these Śātakarṇi kings. They are Ilurak, Manamāḍ, Karajak and others. The very fact that the Kṛṣṇagiri, Kanheri, Kārle and other places where inscriptions are found are connected with Jainism, means

(17) He flourished in the 5th century B. C. Vide pp. 243. III. f. nos. 12 & 13.

that these villages were parts of a Jaina district. As a matter of fact, the whole district of Govardhan-Samay is connected with Jainism. It has now been accepted that the caves of Elorā and Ajaṇṭā do not belong to Jainism but to Buddhism. Secondly, on pp. 367 to 369 we have quoted extracts from Purāṇas in connection with the birth and parentage of King Hāl. It is stated in them that God Śiva, at the request of his devotees to exterminate the Mlecchas, who were molesting them in the performance of their sacrifices, promised that a son would be born and that, that son was king Hāl. This means that Hāl was a follower of the Vedic religion. We have proved convincingly in the foregoing pages that he was a staunch Jain.

The following are the points of difference between a Stūpa and a Pillar:—

Stūpa	Pillar
(1) Erected at a place where a person of prominence is dead.	(1) Erected in commemoration of a victory, and sometimes for religious purposes. (as those of Priyadarśin).
(2) The name of the dead person may or may not have been mentioned.	(2) The name of the conqueror is generally mentioned for the sake of commemoration.
(3) Names of all donors are mentioned.	(3) Only one name of the conqueror is mentioned.
(4) The purpose of the donation is mainly religious and is generally stated.	(4) Always a secular purpose.
(5) Dates of different donations.	(5) Only one date of the conquest is given.

In the chapters on eras in the preceding volume, we have stated that the era started in commemoration of a religious prophet was the best. Sometimes such eras, as happened in the case of the Christian, the Vikrama and the Śaka, were started by the people themselves out of their devotion for these personages.

The Śaka era

We have also shown that the people started the Vikrama era in

commemoration of their king Vikram's victory over the Śakas. We have further shown that Sātavāhan No. 17 was the chief helper in this defeat of the Śakas. He was also the king, who "restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas" by reconquering the district of Govardhan–Samay from the successors of Ṛṣabhdatta and Nahapāṇ. A rock-edict was erected in commemoration of this victory. His successor No. 18, relieved the people of south India as a whole, from the oppression of the Mlechchhas of Ceylon. Governed by a sense of gratitude, the people seem to have started an era either in B. C. 28, the year of the conquest, or in B. C. 47, the year of No. Eighteen's accession to the throne. Thus, this era may have been started either 29 years or 10 years after the founding of the Vikrama era in B. C. 57. We are not quite sure that an era was thus actually started. We are led to this surmise by the term "Śakaśālivāhan". More details about this will be given in the account of No. 23.

In the beginning of the 1st century A. D., a strong wave of misrule and anarchy spread over Europe and Asia and lasted for about 25 years. We have stated in Vol. I, that whenever there might come a period of transition from one age to another, great men would be born. The birth of Buddha and Mahāvir took place under such circumstances in the 6th century B. C. At this time Jesus Christ was born to destroy the unhappiness of mankind In commemoration of the noble sacrifice he made for the suffering humanity, the Christian era was started.

King Hāl and Śaka Śālivāhan

In the chapters on the eras, we have made it clear, that the Śaka era may either have been associated with the Śaka people or may have been started by a king. The first point we shall consider later on. Let us, however, try to see here, whether king Hāl was the founder of the era or not. We have stated that an era was generally founded either from religious or from political considerations. From the political point of view can be mentioned the driving out of the Mlechchhas and the conquest of Ceylon by this king. From the religious point of view can be mentioned his pilgrimage to Mt. Śatruñjay and his donations there and at other places like

the caves of Mt. Tri–raśmi. A look at these events will show that none of them is big enough for the founding of a new era. Looking from the view–point of time also, the Śaka era was founded in 78 A. D., i. e. 60 years after Hāl's death. Hence, Hāl was not the founder of this era. We have also to note, that unlike other eras like the Kṣaharāṭa and Kuśāna, founded from political motives, this era has lasted very long, proving thereby that it has a religious origin. Hence, we come to the conclusion, that just as the title "Śakāri" connected with the name of Vikramāditya does not mean that he was the founder of the Śaka era, so also the connection of "Śaka" with Hāl, in no way indicates him as the founder of the era.

Some more details about the Cūṭūs and the Kadambas

The Kadambas, as we have already stated in Vol. I, were one of the 18 branches of the Samvriji clan. (Udāyan Bhat's account.) In Chap. III, Part XI in this Vol. we have shown that there were branches of the Nandas. Inscription No. 17 tells us that they were connected by marriage–ties with the Āndhra kings. It seems that they must have come to south India with Anuruddha, the son of Udāyan, and settled there as governors of various provinces conquered by Anuruddha. In course of time, they must have severed their allegiance with the Magadha rulers and must have become independent. Sometimes they must have been under the banner of a powerful king–be he of any dynasty and then like the grass, when the blast is over, must have become independent again. Inscriptions Nos. 24 to 26, and 28 and 29 tell us that they ruled over a strip of a region called Aparānt, which was situated on the shores of the Arabian sea. Sometimes they extended their territory, sometimes they bowed down to the superior authority of a powerful king, and sometimes they formed advantageous marriage–ties. Thus, we might consider their origin as early as the 6th century B. C. Mayaṇallādevī the mother of the famous Siddharāj of Gujarāt was probably a princess of this family. At that time, Gokarṇapur (Goā) was the seat of their capital. They were always under the vassalage of the Śātakarṇis.

Dr. Rapson has mentioned coins of Chūṭu and Bodhi dynasties

at the end of his C. A. R. Among the Chūṭūs, well-known in history are Dhulā(Dhuṭukul)nand, Mūlānand (Vol. II, Coins Nos. 49 to 52), Chūṭūkānand (Inscription No. 25) and Viṣṇukaḍa-chūṭṭū Nandas and that they migrated southwards with the Āndhras. In Vol. II, coins 47 & 48, we have stated that their origin was at the same time as that of Sadakanakalalāya Mahārathi. Certain it is, that they are connected with the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. The mention of the term "Rājño" and the absence of the Ujjain symbol in their coins prove that they were independent kings. Their coins and other inscriptions clearly indicate that they were rulers over a small territory. We therefore come to the following conclusions about them:—(1) They must be the natives of Kānārā district, where stayed the parents of the mother of Śrimukh. They must have gone to Magadh with her, when Nand II took her to Magadh after marriage. During their stay there, they must have formed marriage-ties with the Kṣatriyas of Magadh. When Śrimukh decided to go southwards, they must have migrated with him. (2) Or they may not have gone to Magadh at all. They must have, however, formed marriage-ties with him, after the establishment of the Āndhra dynasty. They followed the same religion as the Āndhras and were, for most time, under their vassalage. Inscription No. 26 tells us that the Chūṭūs were defeated by the Kadambas who annexed their territory with theirs.



Chapter XIII

Śatavāhana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(*19*) *Mantalak;* (*20*) *Purindrasen;* (*21*) *Sunder;* (*22*) *Chakor;* (*23*) *Śivasvāti; his birth under auspicious circumstances; extracts from Jaina and Vedic books to this effect; the duration of his reign and of his life; The Śaka era during his time; Was he the founder of the Śaka era? With which religion is the Śaka era connected? Proofs to the effect that the Śaka era is not connected with the Vedic religion; the circumstances under which the era was founded; Various misinterpretations and wrong theories connected with the Śaka era.*

(19) MANTALAK; (20) PURINDRASEN; (21) SUNDER; (22) CHAKOR

Little is known about these four kings. They ruled in the aggregate for about 17½ years. Probably, Mantalak was the son of Hāl. Nos. 20 and 21 were probably brothers, both sons of No. 19. No. 22 also probably was the son of No. 19. No 21 ruled for six months only and must have died by some accident.

(23) ŚIVASVĀTI

We arrive at a provisional conclusion that he was the son of No. 22. He was born under auspicious circumstances[1] as Purāṇic legends[2] and others[3] tell us. Below is given the substance of these legends.

"In former times, there was a famous king named Dipkarṇi who was told by God Śiva in a dream, that he would find a prince riding a lion in a forest. He was to return home with him and adopt him as his son. The king accordingly went to the forest, saw the lion with the prince on his back; killed him with an arrow and took the child in his arms. The lion transformed himself into the shape of a man and told the wonderstruck king that he was a Yakṣa named Śāt. Once, I saw the daughter of a Ṛṣi taking her bath in the river Ganges. Infatuated by her beauty, I married her by the Gāndharva ceremony. When her brothers came to know of this, they cursed us to be transformed into the lion and the lioness. Implored by us to have mercy on us, they told us that my wife would be free from the curse the moment she gave birth to a child, and that I would be free from the curse when pierced by an arrow. The child in your arms is our son. The king called the prince Śivasvāti because he had come to him through the favour of Śiva[4]". This is the story according to the Purāṇas. The Jaina version is given[5] as follows:—

(1) If we accept that he was born under auspicious circumstances, his father must have married the girl mentioned in the legend.

(2) For a legend from "Yugapurāṇ", vide pp. 367 to 369 and read the extracts there from Buddhiprakāś.

(3) Kathāsaritsāgar, 20.

(4) Cf. the name "Meghsvāti" with "Śivasvāti". Meghasvāti was in all probability a Jain. Hence, Śivasvāti is equally a Jaina name.

(5) The original story is given in "Chaturvimśati Prabandh".

"Two brahmins, with a widowed sister, came to Pratiṣṭhānpur and stayed there maintaining themselves by alms. Once she went, to fetch water, to the Godāvarī where a serpent-king infatuated with her beauty, raped her. As a result of this she conceived, and in due course of time, gave birth to a son".

According to the Purāṇas this story is applicable to No. 23; while according to Jaina books, it refers to No. 18. It is argued that the Śaka era, which is mostly prevalent in south India, was begun by a king born of a Brahmin family, as the name Śivasvāti well testifies. It is also argued that A. D. 78, which is generally accepted as the year of the inception of the Śaka era, would be more in argument with the death of Śivasvāti. Moreover, the historians[6] have taken it for granted that Nāsik inscription (No. 7), erected by Balaśrī, is connected with this king. They tell us that the then Āndhra king defeated the Śakas and re-established their former capital as the place of capital. The city was repaired, and was therefore called Navanagar (another name of Paiṭhaṇ). These reparations were, according to them, over in 78 A. D. and in commemoration of this change in the seat of the capital, the Śaka era was founded in that year. In order to fix things in these proportions, the Purāṇas state that the reign of the king lasted for 43 years, though, as a matter of fact, he ruled only for a few years. He must have died at the age of sixty.

Facts about the Śaka era

We have proved above that the term "Śakaśālivāhan" has no connection with the founding of the Śaka era. We have also proved that 78 A. D., the year in which the Śaka era is generally accepted to have been founded, did not have any deed big enough—either religious or political—to start a new era. It has been stated[7], "Udhiṣṭhir, Vikram and Śālivāhan will flourish in the Kaliyug. Later on will flourish Vijayābhinandan, Nāgārjun and Kalki. All the six will be known as the founders of the Śaka era".

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(6) J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi.), Vol. III, the article by Mr. Bukhle.

(7) Vol. III, pp. 441; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V, pp. 127.

Let us see whether we can fix up Śālivāhan in agreement with 78 A. D. The Purāṇas tell us that Kuntal or Śālivāhan was the contemporary and patron of the poet Guṇāḍhya. We have stated in his account that he ruled from B. C. 47 to A. D. 18. Let us see if we can take his rule further upto 78 A. D. Taking into consideration the general rule, that an era is generally founded in the year in which the founder dies, we might assume that he died in 78 A. D. He ruled for 65 years, i. e. he came to the throne in 13 A. D. This means that Āryakhapūt, Pādaliptasūri, Śakāri Vikramāditya and others, who have been proved to have been his contemporaries, must have flourished later than the dates fixed for them. That is impossible. Hence, Śālivāhan's dates cannot be brought in argeement with 78 A. D.

Other facts also support the conclusion arrived at above. The Purāṇas and the inscriptions of Queen Balaśrī state very plainly that her son, who exterminated the Śakas, died ten years after the defeat of the Śakas at the hands of Śakāri Vikramāditya in B. C. 57. That means that her grandson Śālivāhan came to the throne in 47 B. C., and having ruled for 65 years, died in 18 A. D.[8]. The coins of both these kings have the same tale to tell. Secondly, Gautamiputra superprinted his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ, who, as we know, died in B. C. 74. This Gautamiputra, the son of Balaśri, ruled from B. C. 72 to 47 B. C. These dates, as we see, quite agree with the super-printing of the portrait-head, because if there is an interval of a number of years, coins would be out of circulation.[9] If we accept 78 A. D. as the date of the death of Śālivāhan, Gautamiputra's dates will be such that we must allow an interval of 60 to 65 years between him and Nahapāṇ making the super-printing business impossible. Thus, the contention that Śālivāhan died in 78 A. D. is not tenable. Hence, if we accept the contention that the Śaka era was founded in 78 A. D. it can have no connection with No. 18, Śālivāhan.

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(8) For more proofs, vide the paragraph on the religious activities of No. 18.

(9) We find at present also that the coins of a king are withdrawn from circulation soon after his death or at the most after his successor's death.

Let us now see whether Śivasvāti, No. 23, had any connection with the founding of the Śaka era. We have shown, how scholars have misinterpreted the term "Navanar" (No. 14). Hence, no political event of major importance can be connected with the founding of the Śaka era. The occasion of the driving away of the Mlecchas of Ceylon, is connected with No. 18. Can it be transferred to No. 23? One thing is certain that scholars are unanimous in declaring that the Śaka era was founded by Hāl Śālivāhan in 78 A. D. We have shown above the difficulties of believing in this contention. We have no solution to offer and hence express our regret for it.

Who founded the Śaka era?

The Śaka era is at present prevalent both in north and south India. It is, however, more prevalent in south India. It is commonly believed that the era, thus found prevalent in both parts of India, is one and the same. We have, however, proved in the account of the Kuśāna dynasty that the Śaka era started by them in north India was founded in 103 A. D., i. e. 25 years later than the Śaka era of south india. It automatically follows from this, that though these two eras bear the same name, yet they are different in origin and in the dates of their inception. True it is, that the Śaka era of south India sometimes found its way into those countries like United Provinces and others, the people of which, came into direct contact with the people of the south.

To which religion did the founder of the Śaka era belong?

Another belief commonly accepted by scholars is, that as Brāhmins mostly use this era, its origin also is due to the Vedic religion. This belief seems to have been based on the mention of a brahmin girl in the legend connected with Hāl Śālivāhan or Śivasvāti. We have shown it again and again in these volumes that a person born of a brahmin family was not necessarily a follower of the Vedic religion. Both the coins and inscriptions of the Śātavāhana kings give an eloquent testimony to the fact, that they were followers of Jainism. That they relieved the Brāhmanas of the persecution of the Mlecchas does not mean that they were followers of the Vedic religion. With the exception of the 7th and the 23rd kings, all other kings of the dynasty were Jains.

(Later research shows to me that of these two even, one was the follower of Jainism).

Proofs to the effect that the Śaka era had no connection with the Vedic religion

In the first place, the manner, in which these Śātavāhana kings have specified dates on their inscriptions, shows that they were followers of Jainism. We have shown this convincingly in the cases of Nahapāṇ, Ṛsabhdatta, Chasṭhaṇ and the Kuṣāṇas and others. The Śātavahana kings have not mentioned the Udhiṣṭhira era or any Vedic era.

No. 7 changed his religion from Jainism to the Vedic religion, and in celebration of the change, performed Aśvamedha sacrifices. Had no. 23 changed his religion, he also would have done something of the sort. Had he even been the founder of a new era, some brilliant deed must have been recorded to his credit. In the absence of any such evidence, we cannot help concluding that neither did he change his religion nor did he found a new era.

Was there a Śaka era?

We have examined above, all points of view from which it could be proved whether the Śaka era was founded in 78 A. D. by Śālivāhan, and we have shown that there is no way, in which that can be proved. In the absence of any positive piece of evidence, it remains for us to doubt whether any era of the name was founded, or whether it had any other name in the beginning and was called by this name later on. Whether any such era was founded by any king of the Śātavāhana dynasty is a difficult question to answer. The fact, that no Āndhra king has ever used this era any where, goes to show that none of them founded it. Scholars[10] are constrained to say:—"The later inscriptions of Andhras are dated in regnal years and not in the years of any era." If either No. 18 or any other king had founded this era, his successors would certainly have used it in their inscriptions[11]. Hence, whether the era was founded by a king or by the people, it must have been mentioned some where, had it been really founded. Mr. G. H. Oza in his Bhārtīya Prāchīn

(10) C. A. R. pp. 26, para 23.

(11) For instance, Chap. VI, Inscriptions Nos. 18, 21, 23 and 23.

Lipimālā", states (pp. 170–72), "The earliest mention of the Śaka era is 380 in the Loka Vibhāg of Śimhsūri; but as the original manuscript is not available, this date is not very reliable. The next earliest mention is 427, in the "Pañcasiddhāntikā" of Varāhamihir. As regards the inscriptions, only the years of the era have been mentioned[12] in the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatraps in Cutch and Kathiawar. Later inscriptions contain terms like" Śakanṛpati[13] rājyābhiṣek Samvatsar". The extract shows clearly, that very little definite information is available about the era. It also supports our view (pp. 405) that the Chālukya dynasty continued the use of the original Śaka era (begun in 78 A. D.)

It might be argued that Priyadarśin, the staunch follower of Mahāvīr, made use of the Mahāvīra era (A. M. 256), in his Sahasrām inscription only and in his other pillars and inscriptions, mentioned his own regnal year. In the same way, the successors of the founder of the Śaka era need not necessarily have made use of the era. The person, who forwards this argument should well remember that in the case of Priyadarśin, Mahāvīr was simply a spiritual head, while in the case of the successors of the founder of this era, it was the question of honouring or insulting the founder, who is an ancestor.

We have shown that the term " Śaka " has been used as an adjective, i. e. Śakāri Vikramāditya and Śaka Śālivāhan. It is possible to believe that the term 'Śaka' was sometimes used to mean, the particular year of that era which a particular king followed. Hence, unless a definite name is connected with the term, it is very difficult to decide whether the date refers to the Śaka era or to any other era. In the inscription of King Bukkarāy of Vijayanagar, found near Harihar, the name Śālivāhan is connected with the Śaka date 1276[14]. In the chapter that follows, we shall also discuss the possibility of connecting the founding of the era by No. 24 or No. 23 of the dynasty, instead of No. 17 or 18.

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(12) F. n. no. 15 below.

(13) For meanings of these terms, vide Vol. III, pp. 441 to 444.

(14) Pp. 172, ibid.

My opinion is that the founder of the Śaka era was a Jaina king. In the course of time foreigners came to India and started their own various eras. People found it difficult to adjust themselves to these everchanging eras. Hence, they must have secretly continued the use of this era. Thus, in course of time the term "Śaka" came to mean simply an "era", and not any particular era[15]. We have shown that the Ābhira chief Iśvardatta founded the era dating from the beginning of his father's accession in 249 A. D. Later on this dynasty must have been absorbed by the Guptas. When, however, the Gupta power was on the decline, Bhattārak founded his dynasty in Vallabhi in Saurastra, another chief founded Traikuṭaka dynasty[16] in Lāt in Gujarat and a third chief founded his dynasty in Kalyāṇi in the Deccan. These things took place in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. All these dynasties continued the use of the era which was adopted by the Guptas. (using the term the 'Saka=era'). That is the reason, why we find traces of Jainism in the accounts of the Chālukya kings, who were on friendly relations with the Kadamba kings, who were also Jains. King Karṇadev Solanki of Gujarāt married Mayaṇallādevī who was a Kadamba princess. With the passage of time, the Rāṣtrika dynasty—a branch of the Chālukya dynasty-came into being and maintained Jaina traditions and culture. King Amoghvarṣa of that dynasty made a name in history. With the advent of Śankarāchārya, a huge tide of the Vedic faith spread over India, and the Śaka era began to be considered as having a Vedic origin[17]. These changes, we have seen, always

The solution

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(15) We have already mentioned that in the book (referred to above), by G. H. Ozā, he has stated that only the 'year' is stated in the inscriptions, of the western Kṣatraps of Kathiawar and Cutch. (We arrived at the same conclusion before we come across his book. Scholars mistakenly believe that the Kṣatrapas were Śakas, and expected them to use the term Śaka. We have already explained why they have not used that term).

(16) Vol. III, pp. 312. We have stated there 207+249=456 A. D. as the date of Traikūṭaka Dharsen. It has now to be changed to 207+319=526 A. D. as explained above.

(17) G. H. Ozā in his "Bhāratīya Prāchin Lipimālā" states that according

accompany great religious upheavals. The dates connected with the birth and death of Śankarāchārya are 710 and 742. Scholars have interpreted this in terms of the Śaka era and hence have translated them as A. D. 788 to 820 A. D. Many considerations show that these dates are not correct; and hence it is our humble suggestion that the dates 710 and 742 may be interpreted in the terms of the Gupta era[18], and that the term "Śāka" should be taken to mean "an era" and nothing more.

[According to the old Jaina system, a month is over on the full-moon day; while according to the Vedic system, a month ends on the day previous to the new-moon day. Vikrama[19], however, introduced the system of ending a month on the day previous to the New Moon day in his era. He being a Jaina king, the Jains of north India at once adopted this custom. The Kuśānas and the Chaṣṭhanas, however, clung to the old system in their eras. Dr. Keilhorn states[20]:—"The difference in the mentioning of the eras in north and south India, seems to be due to the influence of the the Brahmaṇas". The change in south India was effected as late as the time of Śankarāchārya. This also shows that the founder of the Śaka era was a Jain].

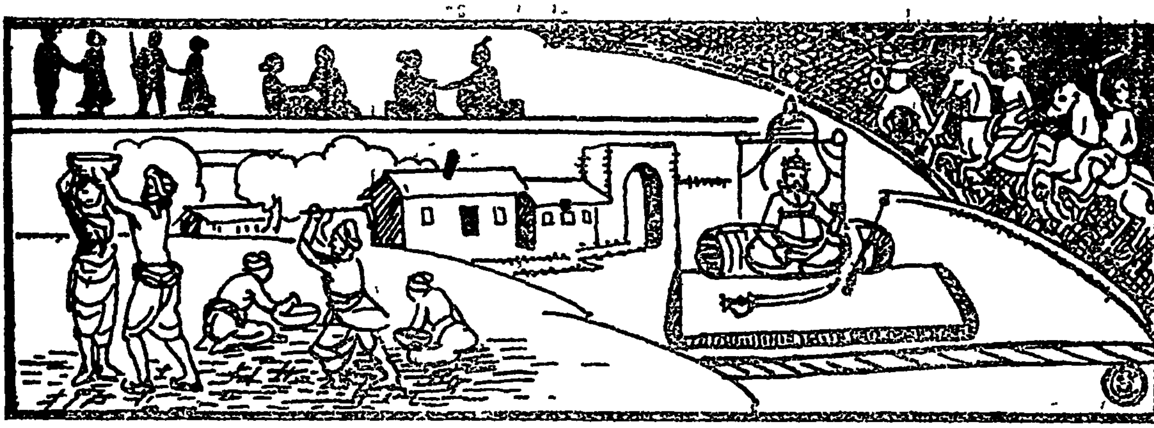
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to the inscription in a Jaina temple by Pulkeśi II, there is an interval of 3197 years between the Śaka era and the Udhiṣṭhira era.

(18) Pp.404 for the meaning of "Śāke".

(19) Vol. III, pp. 455.

(20) I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 46; Vol. III, pp. 448.



Chapter XIV

Śātavāhana dynasty (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*(24) Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—(25) Chatrapaṇ Vāsiṣṭhiputra—The four pairs of Gautamīputras and Vāsiṣṭhiputras—The pair that belongs to Gautamiputra—Dr. Buhler's and Dr. Bhagvānlāl's theory about Chatrapaṇ—Ptolemy's theory that Chatrapaṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ were his contemporaries–Relations between the Gardabhilas and Śātavāhanas—(26) Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, Pulumāvi III—Chaṣṭhaṇa's conquest from him of Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra and his vassalage under him—Inscriptions and coins to the credit of various Gautamiputras—(27) Śivaśri Vāsiṣṭhiputra—(28) Śivaskandh Gautamiputra—(29) Yagnaśri Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi and the last three kings (30 to 32)—Causes of the decline of the dynasty—Confusion resulting from the similarities in the names Rūdradāman (Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty No. 3), Rūdrasimh No. 5 and Rūdrasen No. 7—Relations between the Āndhras and the Ābhiras and the Chaṣṭhaṇas—Acquisition of independence by the Ābhiras at the decline of the Guptas—The theory of the scholars that these Ābhiras were Āndhrabhṛtyas—The dynastic list of the Śātavāhanas.*

Below is given a dynastic list of the last kings of this dynasty.

	A. D. A. D. Years	
(24) Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi	78–109=31	59 years between both
(25) Chatrapaṇ Vāsiṣṭhiputra	109–137=28	
(26) Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi	137–165=28	44 years between both
(27) Śivaśri (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulomā)	165–181=16	
(28) Śivaskandh	181–188= 7	37 years between both
(29) Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhiputra	188–218=30	
(30–31–32)	218–261=43	

Probably the scholars meant to call these seven kings Āndhrabhṛtyas.

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(24) GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI

There is little information about this king. He ruled from A. D. 78 to 99. If it is found out in any reliable source that the epithet Śālivāhan is connected with his name, we might consider the possibility of his having founded the Śaka era.

(25) CHATRAPAṆ VĀSIṢṬHIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARṆI

He ruled from 99 A. D. to 122 A. D. We have stated in the account of No. 17, that there were four pairs bearing the names Gautamiputra and Vāsiṣṭhiputra, viz. Nos. 17 and 18; 24 and 25; 26 and 27; and 28 and 29. We had given there as a tentative conclusion that Nos. 17 and 18 were the son and the grandson of queen Balaśrī. Taking into consideration the fact that Balaśrī has plainly stated in her inscriptions, that both her son and her grandson were very brave and ruled each for at least 24 years, we shall have to rule out Nos. 28 and 29, because neither of them ruled for more than 7 years; we shall also have to rule out Nos.

26 and 27 because, No. 26 was defeated[1] by Chaṣṭhaṇ, who conquered from him Saurasṭra and some portions of Gujerāt. We therefore, consider below Nos. 24 and 25 as rival claimants.

(1) Queen Balaśrī has very clearly stated in her inscription that her son "had restored the glory of his forefathers". This evidently refers to the conquest of Govardhan-samay by Ṛṣabhdatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, in 114 B. C. This date is very near the dates of Nos. 17 and 18 and very far from Nos. 24 and 25. As far as Nos. 24 and 25 are considered, the question of wiping out a stain does not arise, because Nos. 17 and 18 were very brave, and because next to them nothing is known about Nos. 19 to 23. Scholars consider that No. 23 was a king, brave and great, enough to be credited with the starting of an era. Hence, from the view point of the wiping off of the stain, No. 17 seems to have been the son of qneen Balaṣrī.

(2) Queen Balaśrī has also plainly stated that her son "destroyed the Sakas and extirpated the Kṣaharāṭas. The Śakas ruled on Avanti from B. C. 64 to 57 and the Indo-scythians like Ṛṣabhdatta and Kṣaharāṭ Nahapāṇ ruled upto 74 B. C. It has also been proved that No. 17 helped Śakāri Vikramāditya against the Śakas, and killed the last Śaka king in a battle later on. All these details lead us to the conclusion that No. 17 was the son of Balaśrī.

[It should be noted here that Chasthaṇas were not Śakas at all. As shown in their account, they were quite a different race from the cultural point of view.]

(3) We know that Balaśrī erected the inscription in the 19th year of her grandson's reign[2], and that it is plainly stated in the inscription that it was erected in the particular regnal year of her grandson. Now, if we accept No. 24, as the performer of heroic deeds and as the son of Balaśrī, then the era must have been started in his name, in the year in which he died. Why

(1) Previously we have stated that Chaṣṭhaṇ defeated No. 25. That is a mistake. He defeated No. 26.

(2) Any way, Śālivāhan cannot be connected with the founding of the Śaka era.

then, should queen Balaśrī disregard the era, started by her own son, and state only the regnal year of her grandson ? This would be the greatest insult to her own son.

(4) It is an established fact that Gautamiputra superprinted his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ. Now, Nahapaṇ died in 74 B. C., and the date of the erection of the inscription by Balaśrī, if we accept No. 17 as her son, comes to 52 B. C.[3] that is, as we know, a reasonable time during which Nahapāṇ's coins might well have been in circulation. If we accept Nos. 24 and 25, the interval would be nearly a century and a half; a period during which Nahapāṇ's coins would certainly have been out of circulation. Hence, Nos. 17 and 18 have the most legitimate claims to be called queen Balaśrī's son and grandson.

We know that there was an interval of 135 years[4] between the Vikrama era and the Śaka era. That is the only argument in favour of Nos. 24 and 25. Further research might prove that the era founded by Śātavāhan was different from the Śaka era.

Just as the four pairs of Gautamiputras and Vāsiṣṭhiputras have required minute study from us, so does the term Pulumāvi[5]. Ar regards, Chatrapaṇ (No. 25) and his son Gautamiputra Yagnaśri Śātakarṇi, Dr. Bhagvānlāl says in Ind. Ant. Vol. 12 pp. 272:—"Yagna Shree Satakarṇi, the the princely scion of Chaturpana, born of Gautami Queen." Dr. Buhler comments upon this (same page, f. n. no. 1) as follows:—" Bhagvanlal's translation Chaturpaṇa does not seem to me acceptable. It is very probable that the word Chaurchindho or Chaurvindho, which Hemchandra in Deshikosha mentions as a synonym of Sālhāna, denotes the same person."

Other details

(3) We know how Gautamiputra (No. 17) helped Śakāri Vikramāditya against the Śakas, and how he exterminated the Śakas in the same year (57 B. C.). Later on, in 53 B. C. with the help of Śakāri Vikramāditya, he invaded Saurāṣtra, defeated Ṛsabhdatta who was ruling there, and superprinted his portrait-head on the coins of Nahapāṇ. Thus the battles connected with the wiping off of the stain, began in 57 B. C. and ended in 53 B. C.

(4) Pp. 447, Vol. III, Patt VIII, Chap. II, f. n. no. 44.

(5) Inscription No. 4, Chapter V.

The famous scientist Ptolemy has stated that Pulumāvi and Chaṣṭhaṇ were his contemporaries. Dr. Buhler has come to the conclusion that Pulumāvi was none other but Chatrapaṇ and states[6] "Under the circumstances the synchronism, Pulumavi and Chasthan were contemporary rulers, which I am prepared to admit, cannot be made on the basis of chronology". Scholars have fixed A. D. 150 as the time of Chaṣṭhaṇ and Dr. Buhler has come to the conclusion that Pulumāvi flourished at a different time. Dr. Buhler ought to have accepted that, there must have been more Pulumāvis than one in the dynasty, and that one of them may have been the contemporary of Chasthaṇ. Dr. Rapson has come to the same conclusion[7] which he states as follows:—" Ptolemy at Alexandria in 139 A. D. has been living after the death of Antonias Pius (161 A. D.)......Pulumavi and Chasthan were contemporaries." This extract makes it clear that Chasthaṇ flourished sometime between 139 and 162 A. D. It is stated in J. B. B. R. A. S. (New ed. pp. 48, vol. III) "We shall have to place Pulumavi, who was a contemporary of Chasthan long after A. D. 130". These extracts support our view (stated already in the account of Chasṭhaṇ) that he started his era in 103 A. D., when he came to the throne. If that is accepted, he may be said to have died in 155 A. D. after a rule of 52 years, as accepted by scholars, and he can also be considered as a contemporary of Ptolemy. Thus, Gautamiputra Yagnaṣri Pulumāvi was the son and successor of Chatrapan (No. 25) and was a contemporary of Ptolemy and Chaṣṭhaṇ.

Relations between the Gardabhilas and the Śatavāhanas

We have seen how No. 17 helped Śakāri Vikramāditya in his fight against the Śakas. That indicated that there were friendly ties between the two dynasties. No. 18, Vasiṣṭhiputra gave a sum of money in donation at the Bhilsā Tope, and accompanied Śakāri Vikramāditya on a pilgrimage to Mt. Śatruñjay and performed many religious deeds there. In a Jaina book named Prabhāvak Charitra, it is stated that, in course of time, Vikram

(6) I. A. Vol. 12 (1883 A. D.), pp. 274.
(7) C. A. R. Para 48; Chap. VI, No. 23.

was warned by an astrologer, that the only king he had to be afraid of was Hāl Śālivāhan; and that Vikram thereupon concluded a sort of non-aggression pact with him. This, however, does not seem to be in the fitness of things, so fas as Śakāri Vikramāditya and No. 18 are concerned. They were on very friendly terms and had no occasion of quarrel. We should note in this connection that there was another Vikram in the dynasty of Śakāri Vikramāditya and that he died in 93 A. D. It seems that No. 25, Chatrapaṇ crossed the Vindhyā Ranges; and conquered Saurāṣtra and Lāṭ in 105 A. D. This is supported indirectly by coins and inscriptions. He died in 122 A. D.

(26) GAUTAMIPUTRA YAGNAŚRI ŚĀTAKARṆI OR PULUMĀVI.

He ruled from 122 A. D. to 153 A. D. (31 years). Inscriptions Nos. 21, 22 and 23 tell us that he called himself "Svāmi". We have shown in the account of the Chaṣṭhaṇas that this term denotes slight degradation in power and position. In reference to this king, the term can be explained as follows:—We know that Saurāṣṭra was conquered by Chatrapaṇ (No. 25). Saurāṣṭra was at that time—and is at present—a sacred place of pilgrimage for Jains. Chaṣṭhaṇ, who was at that time ruling over Avantī, was a Jain. So were these Āndhra kings. In those times, kings always fought with one another for the possession of those regions in which sacred places of pilgrimage were situated. It is possible, therefore, that Chaṣṭhaṇ may have invaded Saurāṣṭra in 143 A. D. and wrested it from the hands of this Āndhra king. The defeat may have resulted in his being called "Svāmi". It is stated in J. B. B. R. A. S. (New edi), Vol. III, pp. 84:—"and since Yagnaśrī's coins are found in Kathiawar, he must have been the last king of the dynasty to rule over these provinces".

There were, as we have noted, several kings in the dynasty bearing the name Gautamiputra. Hence, we have to find out, which coins and inscriptions belong to which of them.

Coins & inscriptions The following are some of the ways:—The coins which bear the term "Rājño" definitely belong to No. 2 and those inscriptions (i. e. No. 20 etc.) which do not

bear the epithet "Svāmi" also belong to No. 2. Those coins on which are superprinted the portrait-head of Gautamiputra over that of Nahapāṇ, definitely belong to No. 17; and those coins which simply bear the portrait-head and the name of Gautamiputra belong to No. 26. We have noted, why these last coins are found in Saurāṣṭra. It is possible that for the convenience of the pilgrims, it must have been customary to strike coins in Saurāṣṭra with the name of that king under whose power the province was. We know that No. 25 conquered Saurāṣṭra; but probably he did not live long enough to strike his coins and hence No. 26 must have done that.

(27) ŚIVAŚRI VĀSISṬHIPUTRA; (28) ŚIVASKANDHA GAUTAMIPUTRA; (29) YAGNAŚRI ŚĀTAKARṆI VĀSIṢṬHIPUTRA AND THE LAST THREE KINGS (30-32)

Little is known about these six kings. By this time, the power of the dynasty was on the decline. We have seen, how No. 26 was driven out of Saurāṣṭra by Chaṣṭhaṇ. We do not know whether Chaṣṭhaṇ pursued him any further in the south; probably Chasthaṇ did not live long enough to do that. His grandson and successor Rūdradāman however, enjoyed a long and prosperous rule. It is possible therefore that Rūdradāman may have inflicted a severe defeat on No 27 and forced him to retreat as far as the Kanheri inscription. This is supported by the fact, that during the rule of one of his descendants (No. 9) in 261 A. D., his governor Iśvardatta Ābhir founded an independent rule over Nāsik district. It follows from this, that Rūdradāman must have conquered from No. 27 all the region upto Kanheri and appointed an Ābhira chief to rule over it as governor. This conquest may well have been achieved by Rūdrasimh (No. 5 in the line) or by Rūdrasen I, (No. 7 in the line). Further research has yet to decide, who achieved this conquest, out of these three kings of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty. During the weak rule of Nos. 8 and 9 in that dynasty, the Ābhira chiefs as we have already seen, asserted their independence and founded their own dynasty in 261 A. D. Thus, the Āndhra dynasty ended, about in that year.

In inscription No. 17 it is stated that a certain Vāsisṭhiputra married the daughter of a certain Kārdamaka Mahākṣatrap Rūdra...

Scholars are of the opinion that this Rūdra was Rūdradāman. In chap. V, we have shown convincingly that this princess was the daughter of Mahākṣatrap Rūdrabhūti a Kadamba chief, who was in all probability the governor, of a large territory, like the Ābhira chiefs.

Some final details

The Vāsiṣṭhiputra in question, we have fixed up as No. 29, and his time was about 200 A. D. Hence, this Mahākṣatrap Rūdrabhūti also must have flourished somewhere about that time.

The Purāṇas tells us (pp. 285, Vol. III, Part VI, Chap. X f. n. No. 13):—"Seven Āndhra kings sprang from the servants of the original dynasty." This statement can be interpreted as follows. No. 26 was defeated by Chasṭhaṇ and had in all probability to accept the position of vassalage. That vassalage must have continued for all his successors. Hence, the last seven kings may have been called Āndhrabhṛtyas.

It is stated in C. A. R. that after the decline of the Āndhras, ten Ābhira kings ruled the territory, one by one. In Vol. III, Chap. XI, we have shown how Iśavardatta Ābhir, started his era and dated it from the year, in which his father Iṣvarsen came to the throne. We do not know when this dynasty definitely ended. The Guptas, as we know, had directed their attention towards conquering the south, and Chandragupta II actually achieved the thing, in about 400 A. D. It follows from this, that the Ābhira dynasty, which was founded in A. D. 249, ended after a rule of 110 years, in 400 A. D. Thus, the Ābhiras were first the Bhṛtyas of Āndhras, then of Chasṭhaṇas, and then of Guptas. At last Dharsen again founded an independent dynasty.

* * *

We have seen that the most highly controversial question in this dynasty is that of the Śaka era, which the scholars believe to have been begun in 78 A. D. According to my opinion this Śaka era has no connection with Hāl Śālivāhan, who, according to Jaina books, began his era in A. M. 496=26 of the Vikrama era.

Conclusion

Below is given the revised chronological list of the kings of this dynasty beginning with the 17th; for the first 16 kings, (see pp. 233 & seq.)

	B. C.	B. C.	Years
(17) Ariṣṭakarṇa	72	47	25
(18) Pulumāvi	47	3 A.D.	50
(19) Mantalak	3 A.D.	8	5
(20) Purindrasen	8	29	21
(21) Sundar	29	40	11
(22) Chakor	40	40	(6 months)
(23) Śivasvāti	40	78	38
(24) Chatrapaṇ Hāl Vāsiṣṭhiputra	78	137	59
(25) Gautamiputra Yag-naśri Śātakarṇi	137	165	28
(26) Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhiputra	165	182	17
(27) Śivaśri Pulomā	182	199	17
(28) Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi	199	229	30
(29–30–31)	229	261	33

The dates of No. 25 have been verified; others are tentative. A. D. 122 to 157 were given to No. 26; but an inscription has been found out describing him as the vassal of Chaṣthaṇ. Hence his time had to be shifted to A. D. 137 to 165.

We have noted that the first seven, as well as the last seven kings of the dynasty were called Āndhrabhṛtyas. We have also to revise the statement, that No. 23 changed his religion from Jainism to the Vedic religion. In a Jaina book, it is stated that Nāhad Parmār consecrated several idols with annointment at the hands of Jajjigasūri in 143 A. D. This means that Chaṣthaṇ must have come to the throne in 144 or 145 A. D., instead of 143 A. D. as fixed above.

Chronology

N. B.--Simple figures mentioned against the events show the pages, and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable, the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as circa; while those which are doubtful are marked as ?.

B. C.	B. M.	
847	320	Pārśvanāth became 23rd Jaina Tīrthanker (107)
777	250	Pārśvanāth attained Nirvāṇ 107
8th cent.		Pārśvanāth flourished (173)
583	56	Prince Śreṇik of Magadh went to Bennātaṭnagar-(Amrāvati) 382; and stayed there for 2-3 years (583-80) 160
580	53	Prince Śreṇik ascended the throne of Magadh 160 Bennātaṭnagar was a flourishing city 198
568	42	Mahāvīr became a Jaina monk (107)
558-537 =21 yrs.	32-10	Rule of Meghavāhan 95; Beginning of Chedi era, if at all established (theory for 563, 537, 429, 475 dates also discussed); 126, 125, 180; origin of Chedi dynasty by Maha-Meghvāhan, (cir. 558) 94, (94) 107; first part finished 95; (Karkaṇḍu Meghavāhan ascended the throne **559**, 125; **558**, 180)
556	30	Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya 107; became a Tīrthanker (107)
537-474 =63	10-53	(first) Interregnum between the first two periods of the Chedi dynasty 95; beginning of Chedi dynasty by Ksemrāj (according to scholars) (95)
537	10	Death of Meghavāhan 94, 99 [**563**, **565**, **559** theory discussed (94)]

B. C.	A. M.	
527	0	Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr (140); beginning of Mahāvīra era 124, 126, 138 (556 theory discussed 124, 126)
525–4	2–3	Change of Magadha capital from Rājgṛhī to Champā by Ajātśatru 99
507	20	Jambu, second successor to Mahāvīr, attained Kaivalya 158; he was succeeded by his disciple (158)
6th cent.		Āndhras in Jātaka stories 243
		Origin of Kadambas and Cūṭūś, as early as that, 396
6th cent. to 188 B.C.		Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh must have flourished 123
500 (cir.)		Aiterriya Brahaman was composed 204, 205, 240
500–600 A.D.	1100	The word Āndhra came into existence 205
492 (upto)	35 (upto)	Anga remained under Magadh (Anga-Magadhā) 100
492–475 =17	35–52 =17	Trikaling was a part of the Magadha empire 100
491–482 =9	36–45	Anurudhdha conquered S. India upto Ceylon (187)
482–452=30	45–75	Pāṇḍuvās, king of Ceylon 144
475	52	Anurudhdha of Magadh died 100
		Kśemrāj began to rule 101, 103 (see under 474)
475–439 =36	52–88 =36	Rule of Kṣemrāj 103; between 475 & 468 Kṣemrāj conquered Orissā 104; between 475 –372=103 years, Chedi sway remained over Orissa 171
474	53	Re-establishment of Chedi dynasty by Kṣemrāj (see under 475) 95; scholars believe it to be second century (95)
474–361 =113	53–166 =113	Second part of Chedi dynasty lasted 95; (According to scholars it commenced in A.D. 249; 96)
472–456 =16	55–71 =16	Nand I ruled over Magadh 138, 246

B. C.	A. M.	
472	55	Date of Nanda era, if possible at all, 122; (Theory discussed for 465; 122)
468	59	Nandivardhan invaded Kaling and carried that Jaina idol with him 105, 139; a pitched battle was faught between Nand I & Kṣemrāj 104; Excessive rain in Magadh 139
467	60	King of Vatsa died 139
463	64	Jambu, second in descent from Mahāvīr died (152) 158; Knowledge felt to be preserved from this time onwards 159
462	65	A year of draught in Magadh 139 (468–9, 139) (463 to 455)
461 (cir.)	(cir.) 66	Nand II (as a prince) married a Śudra girl 323
458	69	Śrimukh (founder of Śatavahana dynasty was born (254) (459; 323); founder of the dynasty was born before 427; (from about 450–460) 246
456	71	Nandivardhan died 180
456–428 =28	71–99 =28	Rule of Nand II 246
454	73	Birth of Emp. Khārvel of Kaling 182 Kṛṣṇa I, 3rd Āndhra king was born 323, 328, 337
439	88	Vrdhdhirāj succeeded Ksemrāj 108; Khārvel was appointed heir-apparent 182
	-	Pāṭliputra was founded (161)
434	93	Gautamiputra, No.2 Andhra king, was born 329
432	95	Abhivijay of Ceylon became king 118, 134, 144
429	98	Vrdhdhirāj died 109; Khārvel came to the throne 111, 118, 124, 138, 143, 144, 182, 220, (325); Existence of idols proved on inscriptional & edict evidences as far as this time 177 Khārvel must have flourished before 372; 118 Khārvel lived in 5th cent. 243, (393)
429–393 =36	98–134 =36	Khārvel's time (132), 329, 331; 4th cent. Khārvel flourished as her inscriptional evidence 120

B. C.	A. M.	
427	100	Śatavahana dynasty was founded (124), 135, (135), 226, 240, 321 Śrimukh founded his dynasty 209; his dynasty was named Śāta 209, 220, 325; Āndhra dynasty founded 246. Śrimukh flourished in 3rd or 4th cent. according to inscriptional evidence 120 Khārvel defeated Śimukh 135, (325), 331 Painṭh as the seat of capital 348 (from 427–317); again from A. D. 70 to 155; Śāta kings ruled over Paiṭhaṇ on before Nand 415; (209)
427-414=13	100-113	Śrimukh ruled; 233 (427–413=14 yrs; 256, 329)
427–235 A. D.=662 427–261 A. D.=688		The whole Āndhra dynasty lasted (Two theories) 232
427–225=202 427–195=232		Āndhrabhṛtyas' rule (Two theories) 232
427	100	Nand II died 258, 321, 322, 324, 333
427 & onwards		Anarchy in Magadh (333)
425	102	Bennātaṭ enjoyed flourishing condition upto this time 161 Khārvel defeated the Bhojakas & Rāṣṭrikas 331 C. P. Berar & Nizam's territory went under the Chedi rule 334
427–230		First seven Āndhra kings were Jaina-followers 268
(from)427		The region, over which Chandragupta established his power first, was under Nand II, 334
424	103	Khārvel extended the canal to Taṇsūliya 138
422	105	Birth of prince (heir-apparent) Vakragrīv of Kaling (141), 184, 185, 192
421–420	106–107	Khārvel erected Amarāvatī stūpa (in 9th regnal year) 163; (Mahāvijay built by Khārvel in 10th year 419, 144); Amarāvatī already in existence during Mauryan times (from 372–234) 163
418	109	Khārvel destroyed Maṇḍi 145, (187)

B. C.	A. M.	
417-415=2	110-112	Bṛhaspatimitra—Nand VIII ruled 329
417	110	Khārvel defeated Bṛhaspatimitra and brought back the Jaina idol from Magadh to Kaling 147, (**418**, 356)
415	112	Nand VIII died 322; Nand IX came to the throne of Magadh 322, (333)
		Khārvel accomplished preservation of Knowledge 159; Hāthigumfā inscription carved out 184 (**414**, 314, 319)
415-372 =43	112-155	Nand IX ruled 246, 331
		Nand IX was establishing his power in Magadh (in 415) 187; he did not turn his eyes to conquer south India (187)
		Śāta kings ruled over Paiṭhaṇ before Nand IX's time [415-372 : (209)]
414-383 =31	113-144	No. 2 Āndhrapati Gautamiputra's rule 233, 331, 378; he succeeded his father in 414, 332 (414-384; 253); as independent from 413-390=23 & as a vassal from 390-383=7; 256
397		Chandragupta Maurya was born 332
393	134	Death of Khārvel 182, 331 (**392**, 253)
393-372 =21	134-155 =21	Vakragrīv's rule 192, 331
393	134	No. 2 Āndhra king married Nāganikā 331 : he conquered Berar & C. P. from Chedis 331; he conquered Nizam's territory in 393-2 from Chedis 332; & became master of a large territory in 392; 332
392	135	No. 4 Āndhra king (No. 2's & Queen Nāganikā's eldest son) was born 328, 329, (**390**, 338)
390	137	Queen Nāganikā's younger son was born 328, 329
390-384	137-143	Nand IX invaded Āndhras 253
388	139	Bhadrabāhu entered Jaina monk order 158 (his time 388-357=31)

B. C.	A. M.	
387	140	Chhina inscr. No. 20 by No. 2 Āndhra king Gautamiputra 313, 319
383	144	No. 2 Āndhrapati died 332 (**382**, 338); (died in **384** while fighting with Nand IX, 253, 328, 329)
383–382 =10 mths.	144–145 =10 mths.	Vadsatśri's time as a minor 233, 332; as a vassal to Nand IX 256 (384–3, 334);
383	144	Nānāghāṭ inscr. donation made by Queen Nāganikā. 275, 308, 319 (erection date see under 372) Nand IX reconquered the territory of Berar & C. P. from the Āndhras 333 (**385–84**, 334) Chāṇakya took hold of prince Chandragupta from his wards 336
382–372	145–155	No. 3 Āndhrapati, Kṛṣṇa I as a vassal 256 (382–373 Kṛṣṇa I ruled, 233) (Kṛṣṇa I with the help of Nand IX usurped the throne from Vadsatśri & Nāganikā in 383–2; 334) (**383**; 332); **382** Kṛṣṇa came to the throne 337
381	146	Chandragupta established his kingdom in a hilly region 193, 194; 332 (**382**; 295, 333); 381–82 Date of Mauryan era if at all established (Theory for 372, 326 & 295 dates also discussed) 122
381–372 =9	146–155	Chandragupta as a king molested the Āndhras & the Magadha territory 337
372–318 =54	155–209 =54	No. 4 Āndhrapati Vadsatśri's rule 256 (as a vassal to Chandragupta 372–357=15 : as a vassal to Bindusār 357–344=13 & as quite independent 344–318=26) (**373–317**=56, he ruled 234) : 372 Vadsatśri restored to the throne 338 : He became independent (347–317) from Magadhan yoke 339
372–204 =168	155–323	Mauryan sway over Orissā 171

B. C.	A. M.	
372	155	Chandragupta became emperor of Magadh 193, 332, 333 Kṛṣṇa I died 337 [**373**, No. 3 Āndhra king died while fighting with Chandragupta (253), 254 (or a natural death); 328] Nānāghāṭ inscr. No. 1 erected 275 (**371**, 308); Its time in 4th cent. (277) fourth king (Vakragrīv) of the second period in Chedi rule died 95; annexation of some Chedi territories to the Magadha empire by emperor Chandragupta 95
371–357 =14	156–170	Time (patriarchal) of Bhadrabāhu (see also under 388); religious preceptor of Chandragupta Maurya, 153, (285), (Two famines in Magadh during his time);
371	156	Varāhasamhitā was probably composed 339. A son was born to No. 4 Āndhra king but it was dead in infancy 339, 341
(bet.)369–364	158–163	No. 5 Āndhra king Mādhariputra was born 341
(cir.) 367	160 (cir.)	Federal system of government was given a blow by Chāṇakya (325)
(cir.) 361	166 (cir.)	Malayaketu was killed in a battle fighting with Chandragupta 195; end of that part of the Chedi dynasty in which Ksemrāj flourished 96 (**372**; 96); Chedi dynasty ended before the arrival of Megasthenes into India 195
358	169	Emperor Chandragupta became a Jaina monk 339
357	170	Bhadrabāhu, the religious preceptor of Chandragupta died 339; Sthūlibhadra, a monk in the direct line of Mahāvīr (140)
357–312 =45	170–215 =45	Time of Sthūlibhadra (285)
357–356	170–171	Knowledge was preserved in memory and hearing; A rapid decline began from this time in retentive power human being 154

B. C.	A. M.	
350	177	Retirement of Chāṇakya from political life 340
347–317 & A. D. 70	180–599	Amarāvatī as the seat of capital 347 (not before 347) (Theory of dates 415, 392, 360 also discussed) 347 & 348
330–289 =41	197–238 =41	Aśoka ruled 342, 343
327	200	Alexander the Great came to India 143
327–317 =10	200–210 =10	Governors of Alexander the Great held power over the Punjab 8
327—45 A. D.		A list of rulers that ruled over the Punjab and the Sūrsen is given 9
317–190		Indian princes (Jālauk and his descendants, & Śunga emperors) ruled over the Punjab, Kāśmir and Sūrsen 8
4th cent.		Jains emigrated to Burmā 190; Jains settled in East Archipelago 190
318–299 =19	209–228 =19	No. 5 Āndhra king, quite independent 256; (317–299)
		Pūrṇotsang ruled 234, 341, 342
317	210	No. 4 Āndhra king died 338 (it ought to be 318)
312	215	Aśoka saw the members of the Ceylon—mission off the Indian eastern coast 342
312–282 =30	215–245 =30	Time of Ārya–Mahāgiri (285)
309	218	Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 5 & 6 by Māḍhari-putra Svāmi Sakasen 309, 319
304	223	Famine in Vatsa–territory (140), Aśoka had no time upto this year to look after the affairs in the South 342; Āndhra army had reached a height of efficiency at this period 344
(cir.) 300	227	Jaggyāpeṭ inscr. no. 30 by Mādhariputra Ikṣavāku 315–319
299–281 =18	228–246 =18	No. 6 Andhra king Skandha–stambha 256 (independent from 299–285; & as a vassal from 285–81) 350, 352; (298–280 Yagna–Śri's rule (161); (299–282=17½, 234)

B. C.	A. M.	
299	228	Mādhariputra No. 5 Āndhra king died 254
289–235 =54	238–292 =54	Priyadarśin's rule 343
289 (upto)	238	Aśoka was ruling N. India 352; No. 6 Āndhra king Skand–stambha was left unmolested 352
284	243	Priyadarśin directed his attention to conquer S. India 352; first battle of Priyadarśin with the Āndhras 353; P. married Chāruvāki 353, 355
284–3	243–4	Prince Tiver (Tival) was born, a year after marriage 353
283	244	Prince Tival or his mother treacherously murdered 353
282	245	Probable date of erection of Muski Inscr. 353
281	246	Death of No. 6 Andhra king 352
282–236 =46	245–291	Time of Arya Suhastiji, religious preceptor of Emp. Priyadarśin (285); [281–235; (267)]
(after) 282	(after) 245	Reparation of Sudërśan–lake by Saliśuk 353
281–225 =56	246–302 =56	7th Andhra king ruled 256 (281–236=45 as a vassal; 236–229=7 as an independent ruler; 229–25=4 as a suzerain) (282–236; (161), 234)
281–0	246–7	Battle in Kaling between Priyadarśin and Andhras 78, (**281**, 352)
280	247	Priyadarśin conquered Kaling, 343
(bef.) 280	(bef.) 247	Coromāṇḍal coast was under the power of the Andhras 344
280–256	247–271	Proofs to show that all the Deccan territory was under the power of Priyadarśin 344
275	252	Birth of Patañjali 355 [**270**, (355)]
271 (upto)	256	Aśoka was alive 352
		Priyadarśin has used Mahāvīra era (256) date in his edict at Sahasrām 404
242 to 500 A. D. =7 centuries		Hinduism eclipsed by Buddhism (scholars' opinion) 38; (No Buddhistic influence in India from B. C. 270 to 4th cent. A. D. (39). This is the true state, as per my opinion)

B. C.	A. M.	
237	290	Death of Priyadarśin 216 (236; 265, 355) (235; 343)
236-7	291-0	No. 7 Āndhra continued to be a vassal of Priyadarśin 255
236-192 =44	291-355 =44	Time of Jaina monk Guṇa-Sunder sūri (267)
235-151 =84	292-376 =84	Conjoint time of Arya Susthit and Supritibadhdha (285)
230	297	First Aśvamedh by No. 7 Andhra king 356; he defeated Vṛsabhasen (356)
227	300	Vṛsabhasen died 356
226-188 =38	301-339 =38	Puṣyamitra in power 329
225	302	No. 7 Āndhra king died 356 (226-5; 357)
225-207 =18	302-320	No. 8 Āndhra-Lamboder's rule 235
225 to 261 A. D. =486		Āndhrapates' rule lasted 232 (Another view from 195-261 A. D.=456 yrs.)
(upto) 224		Āndhrapates were called Āndhrabhṛtyas 222
207-195 =12	320-332	No. 9th Āndhra-king's rule 235
(upto) 204		Puṣyamitra was called Śungabhṛtya 216
204-300 A. D.		About 500 years, Āndhras' sway over Orissa 171
(bef.) 200		First inscr. of Śātavāhan found in Nasik region 211
2nd or 3rd cent.		Amrāvati stūpa was built (scholars' belief) but much older according to Col. Mackenzie; its rails only of a later date 162
(upto) 196-5	231-2	The Śungas persecuted Jains in N. India 362
195	232	No. 9 Āndhra king died 225
195-183 =12	232-244 =12	No. 10 Āndhra king Āvi ruled 235
192-151 =41	235-276	Time of Jaina monk Kālikasūri alias Śyāmāchārya (according to some, his time extended upto 141 or even upto 131), (267), 363, (363); he reconverted the Āndhras to Jainism 358

B. C.	A. M.	
190	237	Patañjali's time 143 : (see under 180)
(upto 190)		Berar & C. P. were under the power of the Āndhras, from whom Agnimitra conquered them 259
190	237	Agnimitra married Mālavikā 259 (196; 235)
190—70 =120		Different foreigners held their sway over the Punjab 8
188	239	Pusyamitra came to the throne (scholars' belief) 117, 118, 122, 143, 329, 344
183	244	Time of Demetrius 142; 2nd cent. they believe Khārvel to have existed 189 Khārvel ascended the throne (scholars' belief) 117, 122 (cir. 169 as per C. H. I. (121)
183–145 =38	244–282 =38	No. 11 Āndhra king Megha–svāti ruled 235
182	245	Federal system of Government completely disappeared (325); the word Śungabhṛtya was in use upto this time (325)
180	247	Death of Patañjali (355)
2nd cent.		Beginning of Chedi rule (scholars' belief) (95) for real time see under 474)
(cir) 160–A. D. 78		Jainism revived as the faith of Āndhras 268
152	375	Jaina monk Kālik–sūri got a great number of followers in the Deccan 267
151—74 =77	376–453 =77	Time of Jaina monk Indradinnasūri (285)
(upto)150	(upto)377	The Āndhras were more or less under the influence of the Vedic influence 363
145–116 =29	382–411 =29	No. 12th Āndhra king Saudās ruled 235, 365
2nd B.C. to 2nd A.D.		The word Trikaling came into existence during these 4 cent. 190 (see also under 1st cent.)
2nd & 1st B. C.		Āndhra rule began (Purāṇas say this) 120
118, 117 & 114	409, 410 & 413	Nāsik inscription No. 33 by Ṛṣabhadatta, 315, 319, 375, 409

B. C.	A. M.	
117	410	Probable date of Queen Balaśri's birth 371
116–113 =3	411–414 =3	Meghasvāti, the 13th Āndhra king 236
114	413	Battle of Nahapāṇ & Āndhras 263 (scholars fix it at 118 A. D.)
114—53		Removal of Āndhra's capital to Paiṭhaṇ (Theory by scholars is ill-founded) 345
114—74 =40	413-453 =40	Nahapāṇ's rule 365, 378
113	414	Ṛṣabhadatta conquered some territory in Nāśik district 366; Junner inscr. No. 35 by Ayam 316, 319
(long before) 114	413 (before)	Śātavahanas established their power over S. E. India 346, 378; change of capital from Painṭh to Amarāvati 346
(cir) 110-115	417–412	A Chinese general conquered east portion of the dwindling Bactrian empire 27
113—92 =21	414–435 =21	Mṛgendra, the 14th Āndhra king 236, 366
110 (?) (E. H. I.)		Kadaphasis II died 10 (see under 110 A. D.)
120 (?) (E. H. I.)		Kaniṣka's accession 10 (see under 120 A. D.)
92—75 =17	435–452 =17	Svātikarṇa, the 15th Āndhra king 236, 371
83	444	Rohagupta 8th Ninhav at the court of king Balaśri 371 (another theory A. D. 17 which see)
75—72 =3	452–455	Mahendra, the 16th Āndhra king 236
74	453	Nahapāṇ died (283), 375, 401, 410
74—57 =17	453–470 =17	Time of Jaina monk Diṅnasūri (285)
72—47 =25	455–480 =25	Ariṣṭakarṇa, the 17th Āndhra king 236, 373, 401; he super-printed his coins over those of Nahapāṇ (from 74 to 57 or at the most 47) 378; time of helper of Śakāri Vikramāditya 230
70 to 45 A. D.		125 years, Indo-Parthian rule over the Punjab & the Sūrsen 8

B. C.	A. M.	
65	462	Kāliksūri landed in Saurāṣṭra with the Śakas from Pāras-kūl 375
64—57 =7	463—470 =7	Śakas' rule over Avantī 409
57	470	Āndhra kings were known by the appellation Śāta 209
58	469	Death of Ṛṣabhadatta 375
57	470	Śakāri Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas 229, 373, 375 No. 17 Āndhra fought first battle with the Śakas 374, 401 Vikrama era started 395 Śakāri Vikramāditya is supposed to be a contemporary to Sidhdhasen (?) (172) Śakāri Vikramāditya as a contemporary to No. 17 Āndhra king (224), 373
56	471	No. 17 Āndhra fought second battle with Śakas & killed their king 373, 374, 375; (**57-6**, the battle in which Śaka king was killed 281)
56-A.D. 22 =78	471-549 =78	Time of Jaina monk Simhasūri 229 [57 to 21 A. D. (285)]
(cir) 56	471	Ārya-khapūṭ, a Jaina monk, defeated the Buddhists in argument at Broach 391; founding of the city of Pālitāṇā by a Jaina monk Pādalipta, the Guru of Nāgārjun 391
54	473	No. 17 Āndhra king was already the lord of Bennākatak 375; Nāśik inscr. No. 7 by No. 17 Āndhra king 309, 375, 378 (**53**; 319, 379)
54 (long before)		Amarāvati was the capital 375; Ṛṣabhadatta was dead 375; Bennātaṭnagar was a flourishing city upto 1st cent. 284
53	474	Kārle inscr. No. 9 by No. 17 Āndhra king 310, 319, 345
53—52	474-475	No. 17 achieved conquest against the Śakas (283)
52	475	Devaṇak died & the Śāhi dynasty came to an end 375

B. C.	A. M.	
48	479	No. 16 was alive though he had relinquished the crown 371
		Nāśik inscr. No. 8 by No. 17th king 310, 319
47	480	King of Paiṭhaṇ, helper to Śakāri Vikramāditya, died 229: No. 17th king died 370, 373; king Hāl succeeded to the throne 230, 401
47 (or 28)	480 (or 499)	People seem to have started an era after king Hāl subdued the disturbing Mlechchhas of Ceylon 395 (if 47, it is from the date of accession; if it is 28, then the actual date of submission)
47 to A.D. 18=65	480–545	No. 18 Āndhrapati–Hāl Śālivāhan's rule 237, 383, (390), 401
Middle of 1st cent.		Donation to Sāñchi Stūpa by Śātakarṇi 277
45	482	Nāśik inscr. No. 11 by No. 18th king 311, 319
43	484	Probable date when the Jaina monk Āryakhapūṭ died (390), 392
41	486	Nāśik inscr. No. 12 by No. 18th king 311, 319
1st cent.		Talaing people settled in E. Archipelago 190
		The word Trikaling cannot be said to be in existence (Scholars' opinion) 189; (see under 2nd B. C. to 2nd A. D.)
(cir.) 16	(cir.) 511	Mālwā under Āndhras (scholars' belief) 277
40	487	Kārle inscr. No. 15 by No. 18th king 312, 319
31	496	Birth of Vajrasūri; contemporary to Śakāri Vikramāditya & his 3 successors (285)
29 (upto)	498 (upto)	Queen Balaśri was alive 370
28	499	For establishment of an era see under 48 B. C.
		Nāśik inscr. No. 13 by No. 18th king 311, 319, 379
26	501	Queen Balaśri died 371
25	502	Kārle inscr. No. 14 by No. 18th king 312, 319
23	504	Kārle inscr. No. 16 by 18th king 312, 319
25–20	502–507	Pulumāvi Śātakarṇi (No. 18th king) defeated a Kadamba king & married his daughter 78

A. D.	A. M.	
earlier than 15	542 (early)	Kadaphisis I was born (17)
1st cent. B.C. (end)		Mahā-Hakusiri as a valourous king (evidence of inscr.) 276
17	544	Rohagupta, 8th Ninhav at the court of king Balaśri 371 (for other theory, see under B. C. 83)
18	545	King Hāl Śalivāhan died 401; Hāl flourished in first cent. beginning 278
18—26 =8	545-553	Mantalak, the 19th Āndhra king 237
(bet.) 19 & 37	546-564	Gateways of Sāñchī Stūpa were made 393 (real time is 1 to 17 A. D.)
21—57 =36	548-584 =36	Time of Vajrasūri (285)
26—32 =6	553-559	Purindrasen, the 20th Āndhra king 237
31—71 =40	558-598	Kadaphisis I ruled 17, 19, 24, 88; according to E. H. I. 40 (cir.)-78; 11; Kadaphisis I was a young man in 45, (17)
32—32 =6 mths.	559-560 =6 mths.	Sunder, the 21st Āndhra king 237
32-35=3	560-562	Chakor, the 22nd Āndhra king 237
35—78 =43	562-605	Śivasvāti, the 23rd Āndhra king 237
45	572	Emp. Gondophārnes left India for ever 10-15 (**45-46** 24, 53)
45—64 (bet.)		Deposition of Pecores, the Persian emp. (24)
(upto) 45		The Kuśānas had no footing in India (9)
45-103	572-630	Kuśānas established their power any time between these years 16; from 45 to 290=245 Kuśāna ruled in India (scholars' belief) 10; different scholars hold different views 11
52	579	End of Indo-Scythian rule in India 53
53—93 =40	580-620 =40	Gardabhila Vikramacharitra ruled 26

A. D.	A. M.	
(cir) 60	(cir) 587	Goṇḍophārnes died (24)
71–103 =32 (or 40	598–630 =32 (or 638)	Kadaphisis II 17, 19, 25 (11 years out of 32 he was outside India 25; & the rest in India) another theory (22 outside India & 10 in India; 26 or 30 yrs. outside India and 8 in India)*88
78–110 =32	605–637 =32	Kadaphisis II (E. H. I.) 11; (another theory he was on the throne in 77 in India: 27): anytime between 82–103; 16
78	605	Kuśana era is supposed to have been founded 2, 40; but it is really founded much later. 2 Scholars are unanimous in declaring that the Śaka era was founded by Hāl Śālivāhan 402. Śālivāhana era started in S. India 59, Śaka era founded in this year 226, 230, 237, 396, 400 Chālukyas of the South continued using the Śaka era 404
		Upto this time Śatavahans followed Jainism 197
78—99 =21	605–626 =21	Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the 24th Āndhra king 237 408; (78–109=31 yrs: 408)
83	610	Founder of the Śaka era is supposed to have died 227, 230
85	612	Conquest of Taxillā by the Kuśānas, 28 (scholars believe it in 70) (see also under 95)
93	620	Vikrama-charitra Gardabhil died 412
95	622	End of Gardabhila's governor Mantrigupta's authority in Taxilla-Kaśmir 28: Taxilla was sacked 28 (scholars take it in 70)
99–122 =23	626–649 =23	Chatrapaṇ Vāsiṣṭhiputra the 25th Andhra king 237, 408 (109–137=28 years; 408)
103		Kaniṣka I ascended the throne 15 (some assign 78, 60); His rule lasted 103–126=23yrs; 19, 32, 42, 88
120–140 =40		Kaniṣka's reign (E. H. I.) 11; his accession in 120; (10), 60

A. D.	
103	Kuśāna era started 55, 73, 88, 402 (Scholars believe it in 78); it was ended in 280 by the Guptas 73: Śaka era (Kuśāna era) was started some where between 100 & 150 (one theory) 60; Chasṭhana era started 62, 65, 73, 85, 88, 297, 411
103—17=14	Time of Ghsamotik 88; (104–5 Ghṣamotik appointed as a ksatrap; 62) True date 103, 62); 115–7 death of Ghṣamotik 63, 115; 73; (116–7; 88)
105	Chatrapaṇ Śātakarṇi conquered Saurāṣṭra 237, 348, 412
105–142	Saurāṣṭra & Gujarat under the Āndhras 348
106	Śārnāth inscription by Kaniṣka I, 88
107–32	Power of the Gardabhila's on decline (298)
110	Kadaphisis II died (10)
110–120=10	Interregnum (E. H. I.) in Kuśāna dynasty 11
(cir) 110	Kuśānas conquered a part of Kāśmir 44
112	Nānāghāṭ inscri. No. 18 by Chatrapaṇ Vāsiṣṭhiputra 313;319; 2nd cent. (scholars opinion) (277) Mathura inscr. by Kaniṣka I, 88
(cir) 115	Founding of the city of Kaniskapur; 43
114	Suzerainty of Kaniṣka over Sūe Vihar; 32
117—52=35	Chasthaṇ's rule 75 (Ksatrap for 16, Mahakṣatrap for 10 & King for 9; Total 35 yrs.) (117–32 as a ksatrap; 88) scholars believe his rule to have ended in 127; 59 (see under 152) Scholars calculate him in power in 120 (which really ought to be (145) 263; his rule ended in 130 (scholars) 297; it is to be placed long after 130, (297)
117	Nāsik inscr. No. 33 by Nahapāṇ 302
120–126 (between)	Huskapur was founded 43 (see under 132–163)
121	Māṇikyal inscr. by Kaniṣka I, 88
122–153=31	Pulumāvi II the 26th Andhra king ruled 238, 412 (see page 297 & 415)

A. D.	
126–132=6	Vāziska ruled 19, 43, 88: bet. 126–132 founding of the city of Juṣkapur 43;
127	Īsāpur inscr. by Vāzeska 88
128	Birth of Kaniṣka II 88
129	Nāsik inscr. No. 21 by Gautamiputra Yagñaśri 313, 319
131	Sāñchi inscr. by Vazeṣka 88
132	Mathura „ „ „ 88
	Death of Emp. Vāsiṣka 88; Chaṣṭhaṇ upto 132 as a Kṣatrap 63; Chaṣṭhaṇ raised to Mahakṣatrapi 88
132–142	Chaṣṭhaṇ as a Mahā-kṣatrap 88 (see under 117–52)
132–142	Huviṣka as the regent of Kaniṣka II, 88
132–163=31	Huviṣka's rule 19 (132–143=11 without title, as regent & 143–163=20 as emperor); (160–182=22 His rule E. H. I. 11) Huviṣka stayed in Kāśmir once 115–126=11 yrs. (during Kaniska I's reign); again from 132–142=10 & later on as independent ruler; Huskapur must have been founded by him bet. 120–126; 43
136	Mathura inscr. by Huviṣka 88
132–196=64	Kaniṣka II total reign, 19; (132–143=11 as minor; 143–196=53 as emperor (he has ruled for 57 years at least 14) he came to the throne as Mahākṣatrap in 143; 63 [**141–2**; (63), 66); a ruler of Mathura (142–198=56) 88]
133–161=28	Gautamiputra Yagñaśri Pulumāvi (see also under 122–153) 297
138	Kanheri inscr. No. 22 by No. 26th King 313, 319
141 (?)	Kanheri inscr. No. 23 by No. 26th King 314, 319
139–165	Ptolemy's time in India (297), 411
(upto) 142	Āndhras ruled over Kathiawar 298

A. D.	
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127	Isāpur inscr. by Vāzeṣka 88
128	Birth of Kaniṣka II 88
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139–165	Ptolemy's time in India (297), 411
(upto) 142	Āndhras ruled over Kathiawar 298

A. D.	
142	Chasthaṇ raised to independency 88 (**143**, 63) Coronation of Kaniṣka II, 88 Māṭi dol of Kaniṣka & Chasthaṇ supposed to be made 66, 88
142–152=10	Chaṣṭhan as a ruler of Avanti 88; [**143**; (64); **144–5**; 415] (cir **141–2**) Chaṣṭhaṇ defeated Āndhra king 221; (cir **143**) 221 : (see under 145)
143	Chasthaṇ conquered Saurāṣṭra from the Āndhras 412
	Nāhaḍ Parmār consecrated idols with annointment under Jajjigasūri 415
144	Ārā inscr. by Kaniṣka II, 88
145	Chasthaṇ invaded Āndhra territory 65, 88
150	Scholars say Śuderśan Lake repaired (see under 175)
2nd cent.	Brāhamanism pushed itself forward in India & Kuśānas were converted to it 52
	Jainism disappeared from Mathura 52
152	Death of Chaṣṭhaṇ 65, 73, 88 (see under 155) Accession of Jayadāman as Mahā-kṣatrap (?) 88. Death of Jayadāman 88: Rūdradāman came to the throne 88, 75. Chaṣṭhaṇ's rule ended 297 (King of Avanti 142–52; as a Mahā-kṣatrap 132–142; 297, 298)
152—75	Rule of Rūdradāman 88; end of Rudradaman's rule in 175; 75. (**150**, Rudradāman as the scholars say 287 288; real time is 175)
153–180=27	Śivaśre, the 27th Andhra king, 292, 238
154	Vardak inscr. by Huviṣka 88
155	Chasṭhaṇ may be said to have died 411
160–182	Huviṣka's rule (E. H. I.) 11
163	Mathura inscr. by Huviṣka 88
167	Terrible plague in Europe 53
175	End of Rūdradāman's rule 75 (see under 152–75)
175 (upto)	Chaṣṭhaṇa kings did not turn their eyes to Deccan at all 298

A. D.	
175	Suderśan Lake repaired by Suviśākh 305 (scholars assign it to 150) Junāgaḍh inscr. No. 38 by Rūdradāman 316, 319
180—7=7	Śiva-skandha, the 28th Āndhra king 238
182-220=38	Kuśāna Vāsudev I ruled (E. H. I.); 11 (real time 196-234=38; 19, 51)
187-217=30	Yagñaśri Śātakarṇi the 29th Āndhra ruled 238 (187-230; 292)
196-234=38	Vāsudev I ruled 19, 51 (199-236=37; 88) (for E. H. I. opinion see under 182-220=38)
200	Mahākṣatrap Rūdrabhūti-Ābhira chief-flourished about this time 414
400 (cir) A. D.	Chandragupta II made conquest in the south 414
249 to 400 (cir)	Ābhira dynasty lasted for about 150 yrs. 414
206—22=16	Rūdraśimh I (Chaṣṭhaṇa dyn.) ruled 292
206	Gundā inscr. by Rūdrasimh I, 305, 317 319,
213	Junāgaḍh inscr. „ „ 305, 317, 319
225	Mulvāsar „ „ 305, 317, 320
231	Jasdan „ Rūdrasen 306 (**230**, 317, 319)
217-262=45	Last three Āndhra (30, 31, & 32) kings 238; after 220 Āndhra dynasty began to decline 293
234	Vasudev I died 53
234-280	Seven petty kings of the Kuśāna dynasty, 19 (236-286; 88) (220-260=40 according to E. H. I. 14; about 260 Kuśāna dynasty ended 11;) Kuśāna era ended 280; 73
236	Probable end of Andhra dynasty (one theory) 222, (222); (second theory 261; 222, 332). This 261 is the real date; (**235**, 226, 232, 240); 3rd cent. Āndhra dynasty ended 205 A descendant of Chaṣṭhaṇa defeated the Āndhra king 225 (defeated the 28th Āndhra king, 226)

A. D.	
249	Chedi era supposed to start (by scholars) 96 (96); scholars believe that 2nd part of Chedi rulers began 96; starting of Chedi or Kalchuri era from the accession of Iśvarsen, the father of Iśvardatt (307), 405
249 (?)	Traikūṭakas began to rule 96
258	Nasik inscr. No. 431 by Iśvarsen 307, 317, 319
261	Real end of Āndhra dynasty (see under 236)
	Ābhira dynasty was founded by Iśvardatt 221
	Iśvardatt Ābhir flourished (**261–4**; 87) asserted his independence 293, 413
(cir) 279	Guptas supplanted the Kuśānas, 53 (**282–6**);88
(cir.) 280	Probable end of the Kuśāna dynasty 18; the
290	Guptas began to rule in India (cir 275–290) 18; The Guptas came to India from Nepal 11
4th cent.	Buddhist pilgrims from Ceylon & China did not notice. Buddhism flourish in India till this time 39 (B. C. 270–4th cent. A. D.) (39)
3–4 cent.	Purāṇas are composed *251*, 178
Upto 4th cent.	Idolatry was conspicuous by its absence in Vedas 199
(cir.) 300	The Jagannāthpūrī temple & shrines around it were destroyed 168, 169 : It is said that the Guptas must have destroyed them 170, 177, 178. (If it is true, the date must be nearly the latter half of the 4th cent.)
	Truth leaked out about the Jagannāthpūrī idol though tried to hide it 176
(Upto) 300	No monolithic pillars in temple yards are found to be erected. It seems to have come into vogue in 5th or 6th cent. A. D.: 173
(bet) 3rd & 6th cent.	The word Āndhradeś (country) came into existence 206, 240
302	A coin of Āndhra dynasty bearing this date is said to have been found 221, (244)

A. D.	
319	Vikramāditya I Gupta, alias Chandragupta established the Gupta empire 11, 62
	Starting of the Gupta era (307)
374	Samudragupta died 85
397	Scholars believe the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty to have ended 59 (Correct date is 422, which see)
413–456=43	Kumārgupta's rule 86
422	Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty must have ended (Scholars assign it to A. D. 397 : 359)
423	Chaṣṭhaṇa era ceased to exist 73
427	Earliest mention of Śaka era in Pañch-Sidhdhāntikā 404
456–480=24	Samudragupta's time 86
490	Kumārgupta fled from Avantī 86
(cir.) 490	Tormāṇ Huṇ conquered Avantī 86
490–510=20	Tormāṇ's rule (86).
(cir.) 492	Vallabhi dynasty was founded by Bhaṭṭārka 86 (it ought to be first quarter of the 6th cent. see under 526)
510–533=23	Mihirkūl Hūṇ ruled over Avantī (86)
5th cent. (upto)	The Guptas held their sway over Kaling 96
6th cent.	Chālukyas originated (probably from the Guptas) (245) (see under 526)
526	Pārḍi inscr. by Traikūṭaka Dharsen 307, 318, 319, (405) (Traikūṭak of S. Gujerat, Maitrakas of Vallabhi & Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi all seem to have asserted their independence from the Gupta emperors during the time of their decline from 490 & onwards)
564	Kanheri inscr. by a Traikūṭaka king 307, 318, 319
531–33	People rebelled against the Hūṇs in Avantī 87
580	Yayāti Keśari, first king of the Keśari dynasty began to build Jagannāthpūrī Temple 166, 168. Yayāti Keśari rebuilt the Temple 170, 177.

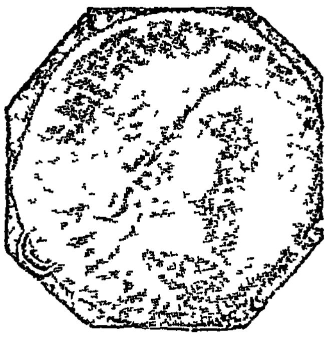
A. D.	
580–655=75	Yayāti Keśari took 75 years to rebuild the Temple of Jagannāthpūrī 178
5th to 7 cent.	Ruins of Devagaḍh and Ābu (269)
(Upto) 600	Descendants of Aśok ruled over Magadh 118; soon after 600, Śaśānk of Bengal destroyed the Boddhi tree, implanted by Emp. Aśok. It was restored by Punerverman of Rājgṛhi 118
611	Origin–time of Islām as a faith (21); rise of Islām in the 7th cent. A. D. 45
(cir.) 690–750	Bhavbhūti flourished (171)
8th cent.	A miraculous legend, about the Pārśvanāth idol at Ujjain by Sidhdhasen Divāker (172) (see under B. C. 57 Vikramāditya)
788–820=32	Śankarāchārya flourished (171), 406; 8th century is his time 171 (My calculation is that the numbers relate to the Gupta era; & hence they will be 1029 & 1061 respectively)
9th cent.	Mūlrāj Solanki invaded Kāthiāwāḍ (when Dhruvsen was ruling at Ānandpur) 306
11th cent.	Scholars believe that the third part of Chedi dynasty had begun 96–97
1198	Present temple of Jagannāthpūri was built by Anang Bhimdev 164. (A legend says it is Buddhist 300 A. D. : 165) 169
1276	Śālivāhan Śaka has been used conjointly by Bukkarāy in an inscription 404

*   *   *

B. C. 57	No. 17 helped Śakāri Vikramāditya against the Śakas (410)
B. C. 57–53	Battles wiping off of the stain (410) (during this period
B. C. 53	No. 17 invaded Saurāstra and defeated Ṛṣabhadatt with the help of Vikramāditya (410)
B. C. 31 A. M. 496	Hal Śalivāhan began his era (Jaina books) 414
A. D. 78	Scholars believe Śaka era to have started 414

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
96	1	B. C. 249	A. D. 249
107	17	B. C. 877	B. C. 777
107	18	Nirvāṇ	Kaivalya
107	34	B. C. 877	B. C. 847
161	29	289 to 280	298 to 280
193	3	((4) Vakragrīv &tc.)	(to be placed on pp. 192 above the last 3 lines)
210	32	or	of
264	16	Metronymics	Matronymics
289	30	Gāthā–saptasati	Bṛhat–kathā
313	6	B. C. 112	A. D. 112
313	20	B. C. 129	A. D. 129
313	26	B. C. 138	A. D. 138
314	1	B. C. 141 (?)	A. D. 141 (?)
315	7	B. C. 298	B. C. 300
318	1	A. D. 546	A. D. 526
318	11	A. D. 494 (?)	A. D. 546 (?)
318	16	249 + 205 = 454	319 + 245 = 564
319	10	B. C. 298	B. C. 300
319	35	456	526
319	36	494	564
331	10	115 A. M.	155 A. M.
367	5	Somao	Somadev
414	25	110	150
432	34	120–140	120–160



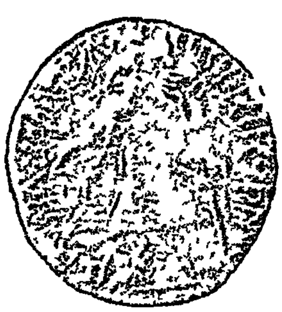
Kaḍaphisis I

Fig 5] [Pp. 22



Kaḍaphisis II

Fig. 6] [Pp. 26



Kaniska I

Fig 8] [Pp. 31



Huviska

Fig 9] [Pp 46



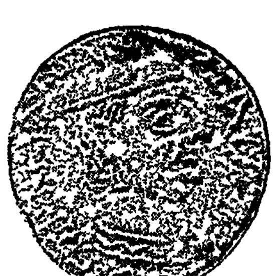
Kaniska II

Fig 10] [Pp 48



Vāsudev I

Fig 11] [Pp. 51



Chasṭhaṇ

Fig. 13] [Pp. 63



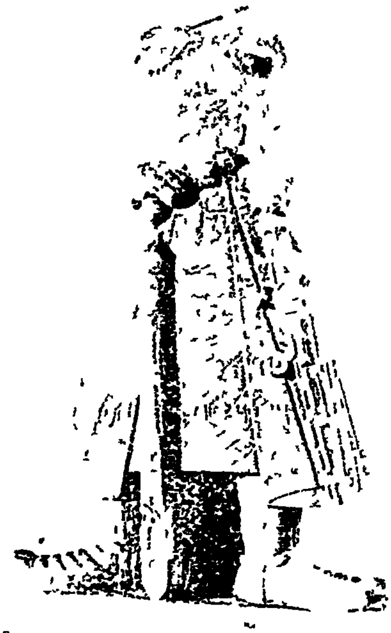
Rūdradāman

Fig. 14] [Pp. 75



Vem Kaḍaphisis

Fig. 15] [Pp. 29



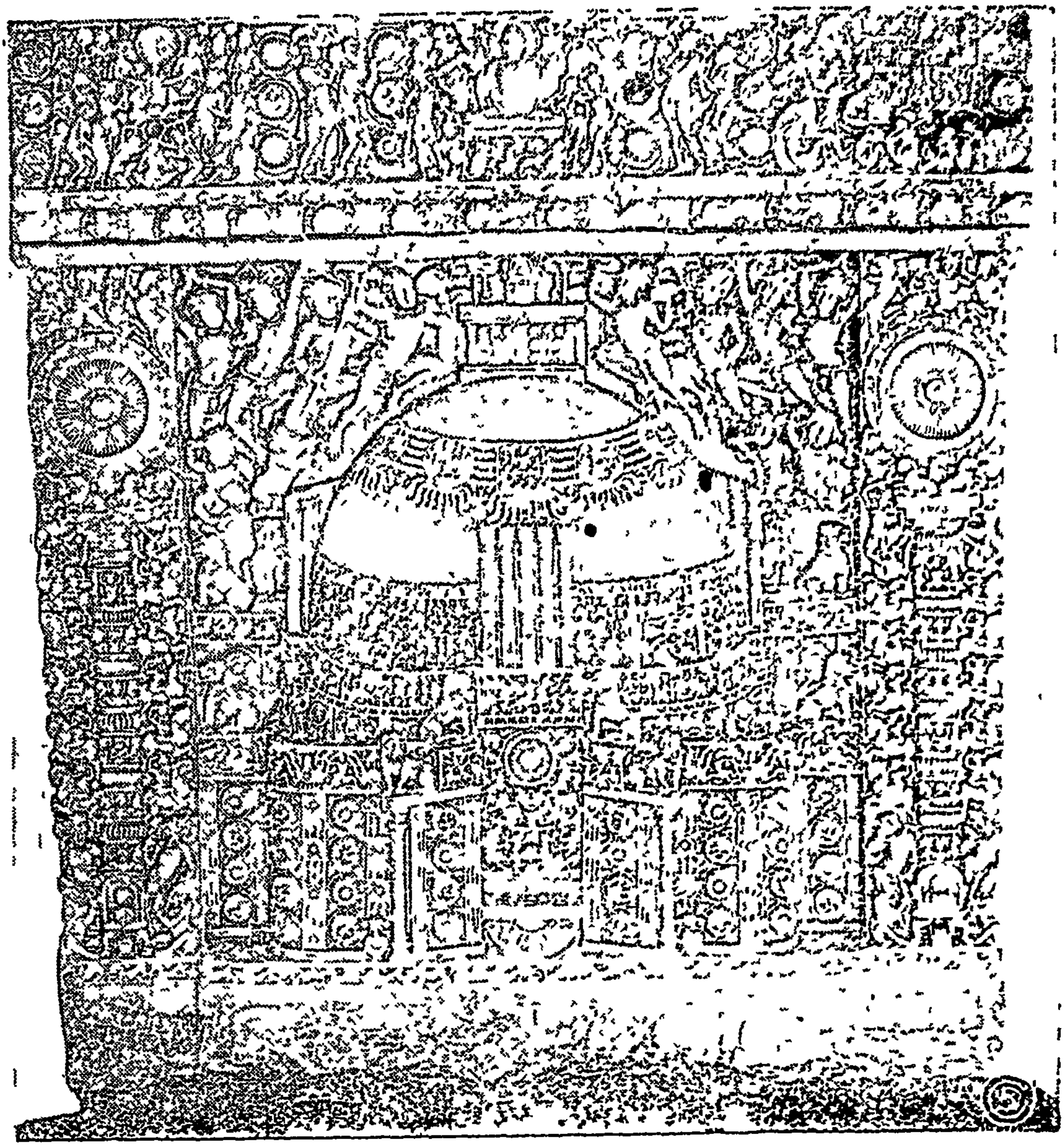
Emp. Kaniska II

Fig. 16] [Pp. 31



Emp. Chasṭhaṇ

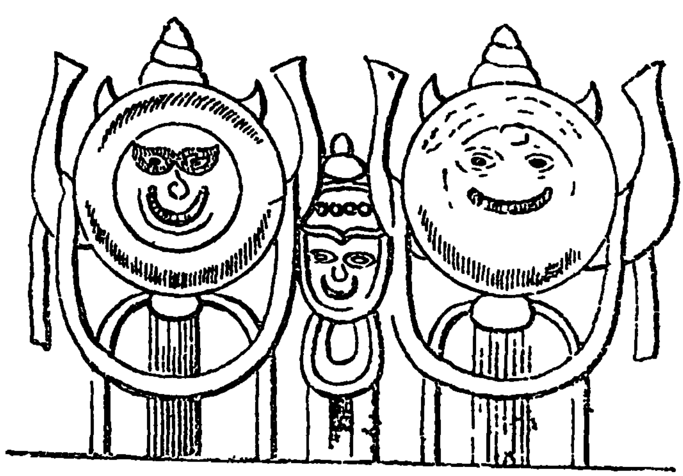
Fig 17] [Pp. 29



Mahāvijay–Prāsād

Fig. 22]

[Herein Pp 159; Vol. I, Pp. 159



Tri–Mūrti—Jagannāthpūrī

Fig. 23]

[Herein pp. 164;
& Vol. I, pp. 171

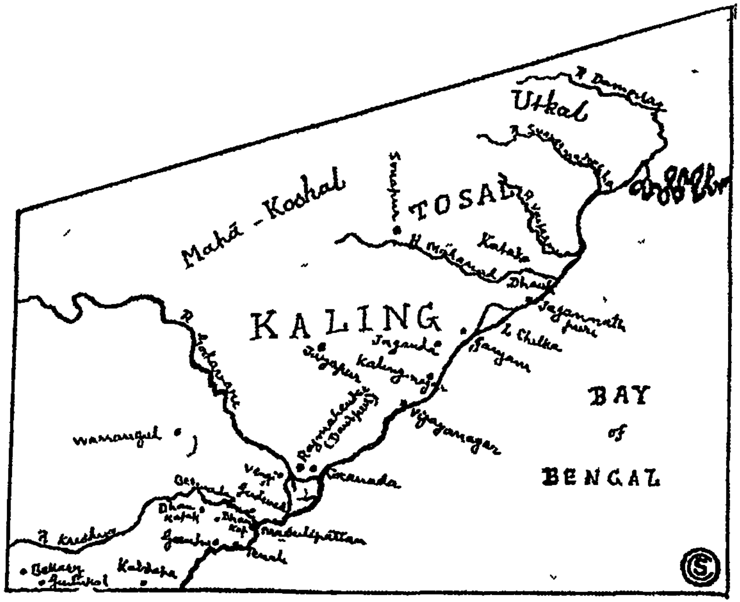


Fig. 25] Map No. 1 [Pp. 180



Charaṇ–Pādukā—Amarāoti

Fig. 26] [Pp. 198



Charaṇ–Pūjā—Amarāoti

Fig. 27] [Pp 198

Excavations from An arāotī-stūpa



Pārśvanāth

Fig. 29]

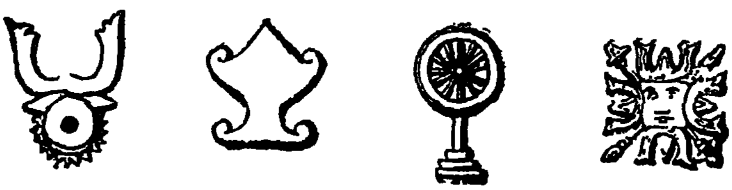
[Herein Pp. 199;
Vol. I, Pp. 149



Chaumukhji

Fig. 30]

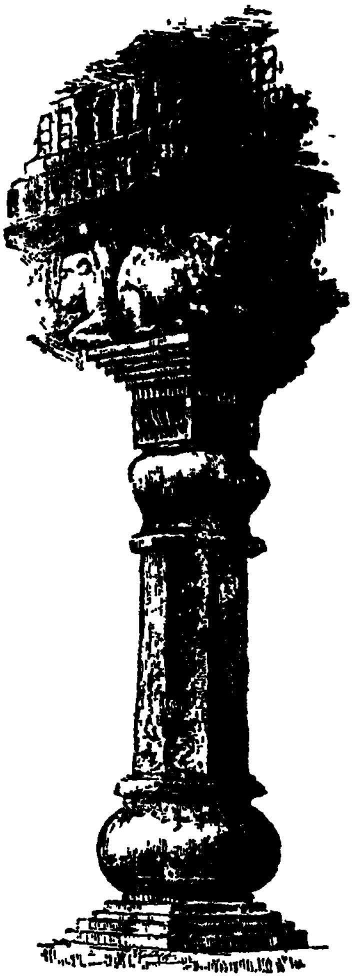
[Herein Pp. 199,
Vol. I, Pp. 149



Trī-ratna

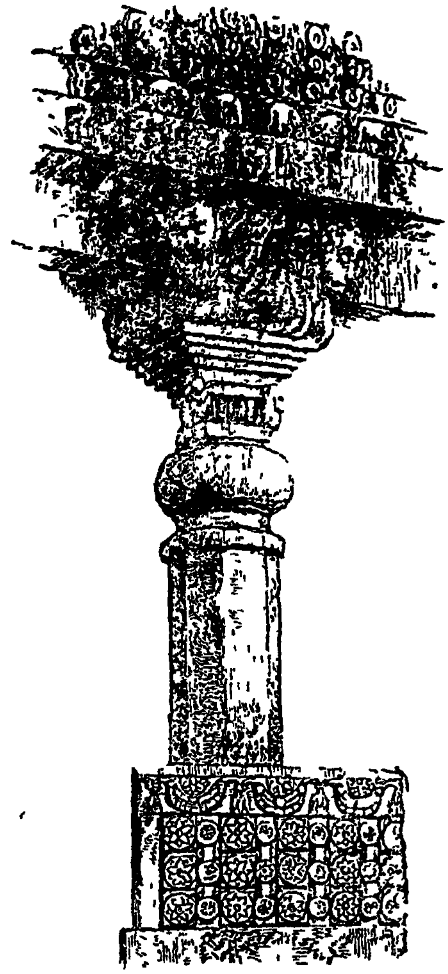
Fig. 28]

[Pp. 167



Nahapāṇ-pillar

Fig. 31] [Pp. 197



Gautamiputra-pillar

Fig. 32] [Pp. 197



Tirhut-pillar

Fig 33] [Pp 197



Sankisā-pillar

Fig 34] [Pp 198

Excavations from Amarāotī-stūpa



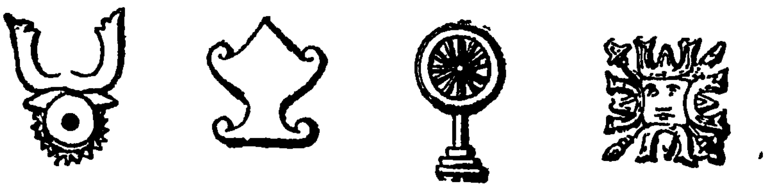
Pārśvanāth

Fig. 29] [Herein Pp. 199; Vol. I, Pp. 149



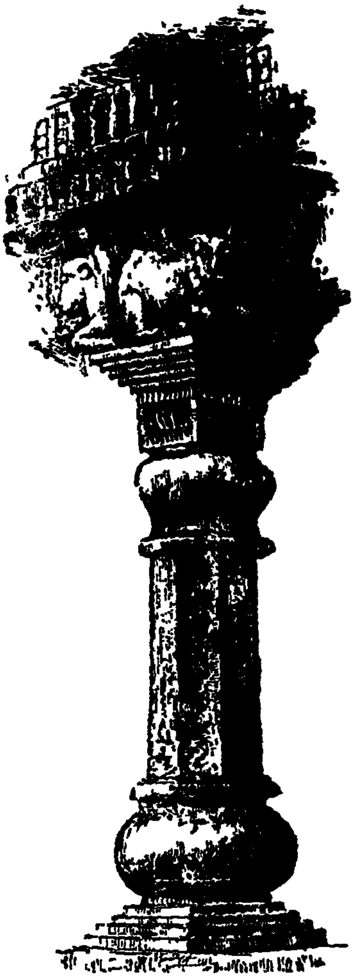
Chaumukhji

Fig. 30] [Herein Pp. 199; Vol. I, Pp. 149



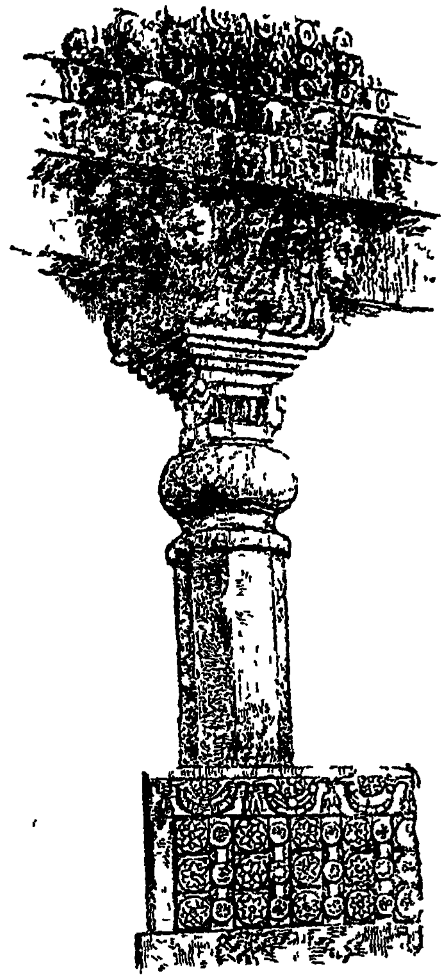
Trī-ratna

Fig. 28] [Pp. 167



Nahapāṇ-pillar

Fig. 31] [Pp. 197



Gautamiputra-pillar

Fig. 32] [Pp. 197



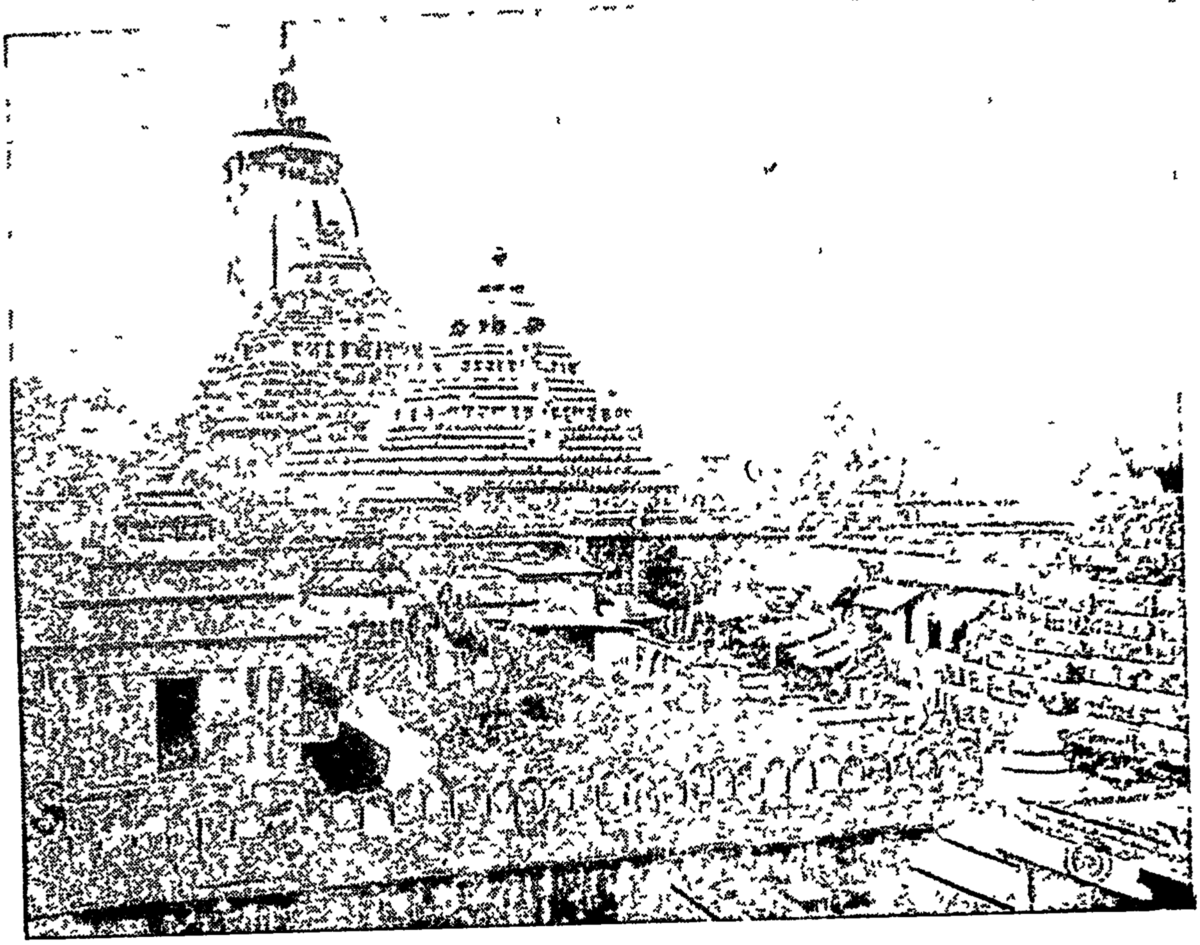
Tirhut-pillar

Fig 33] [Pp 197



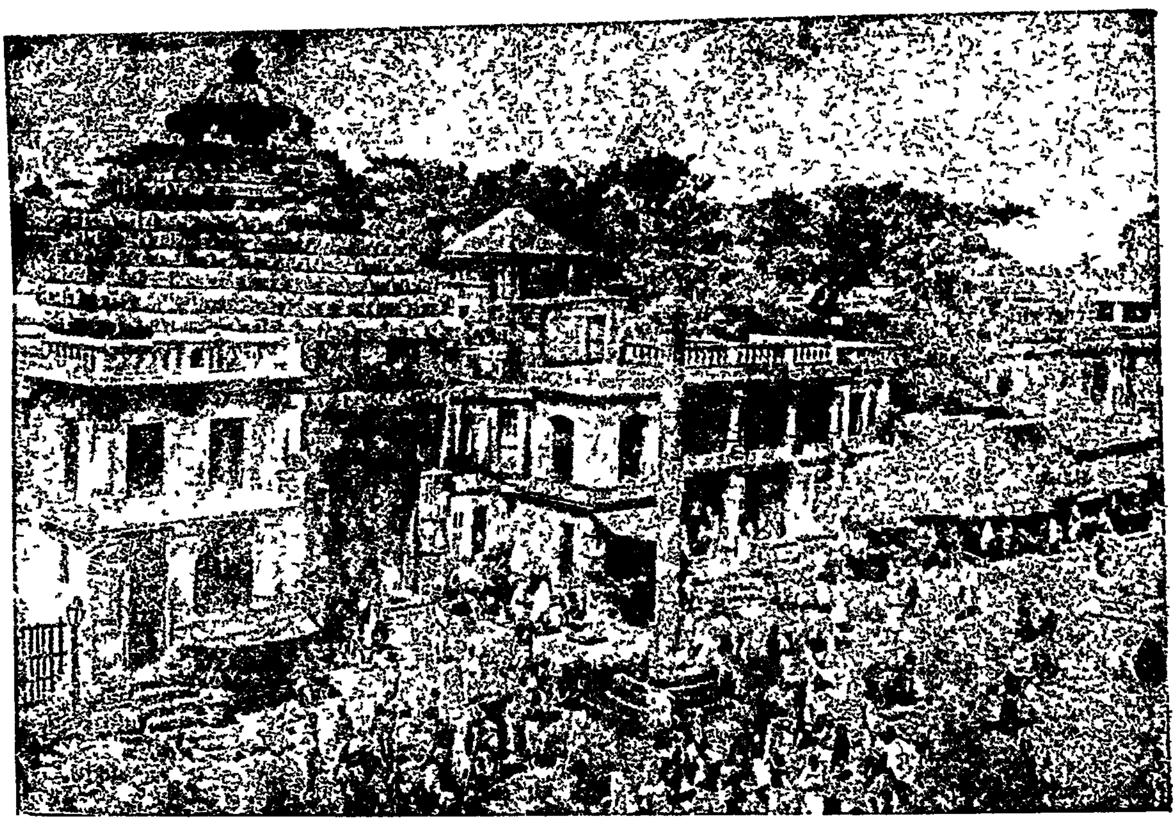
Sankisā-pillar

Fig 34] [Pp. 198



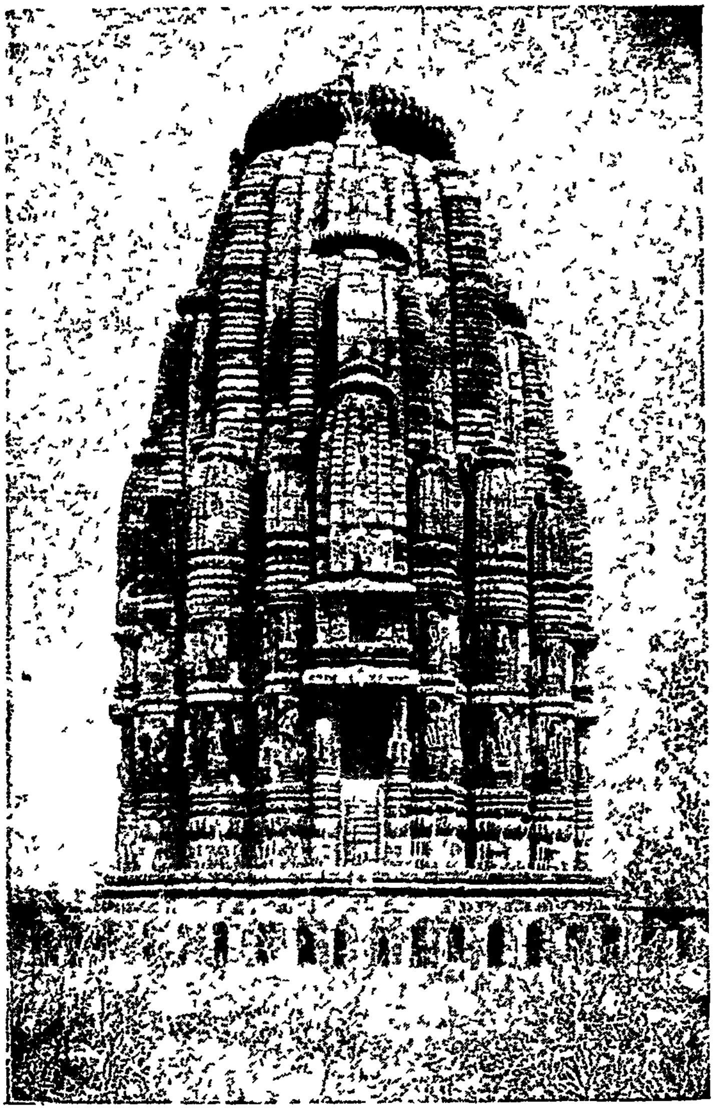
Jagannāthpūri-temple

Fig 35] [Pp. 169



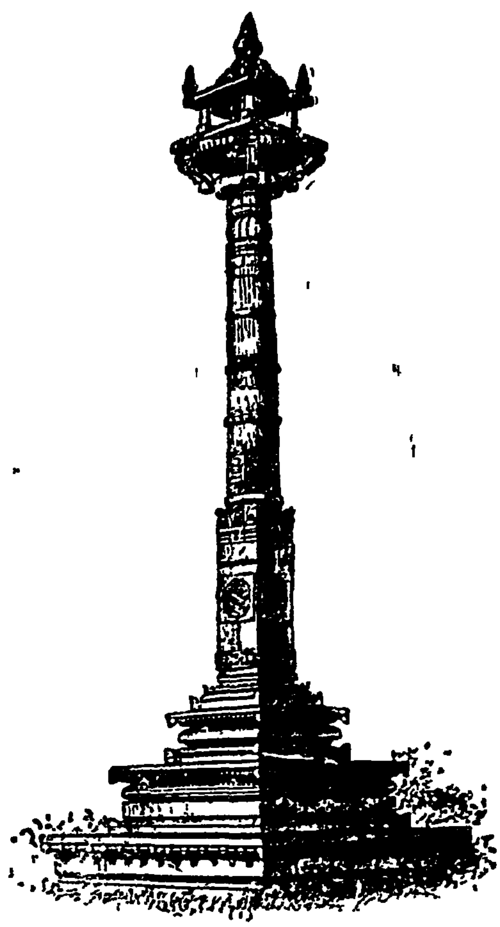
Aruṇ-stambha

Fig. 36] [Pp. 172-73



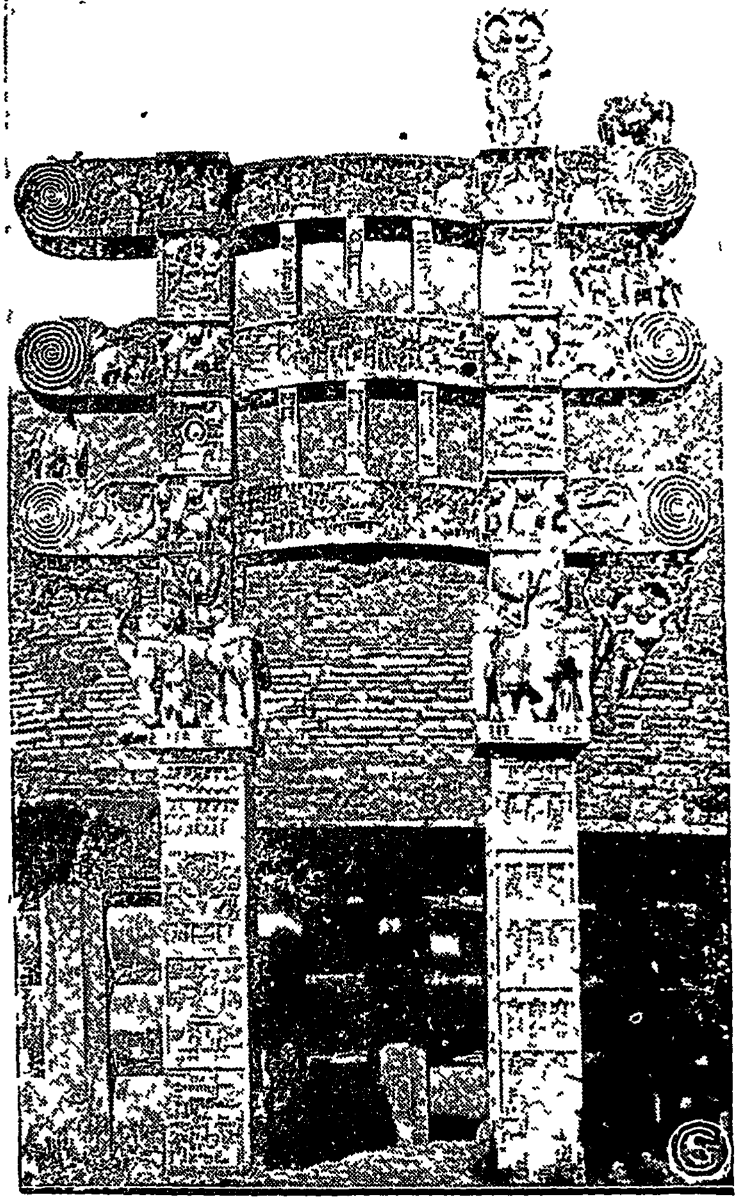
Bhūvaneśvar–temple

Fig. 37] [Pp. 165



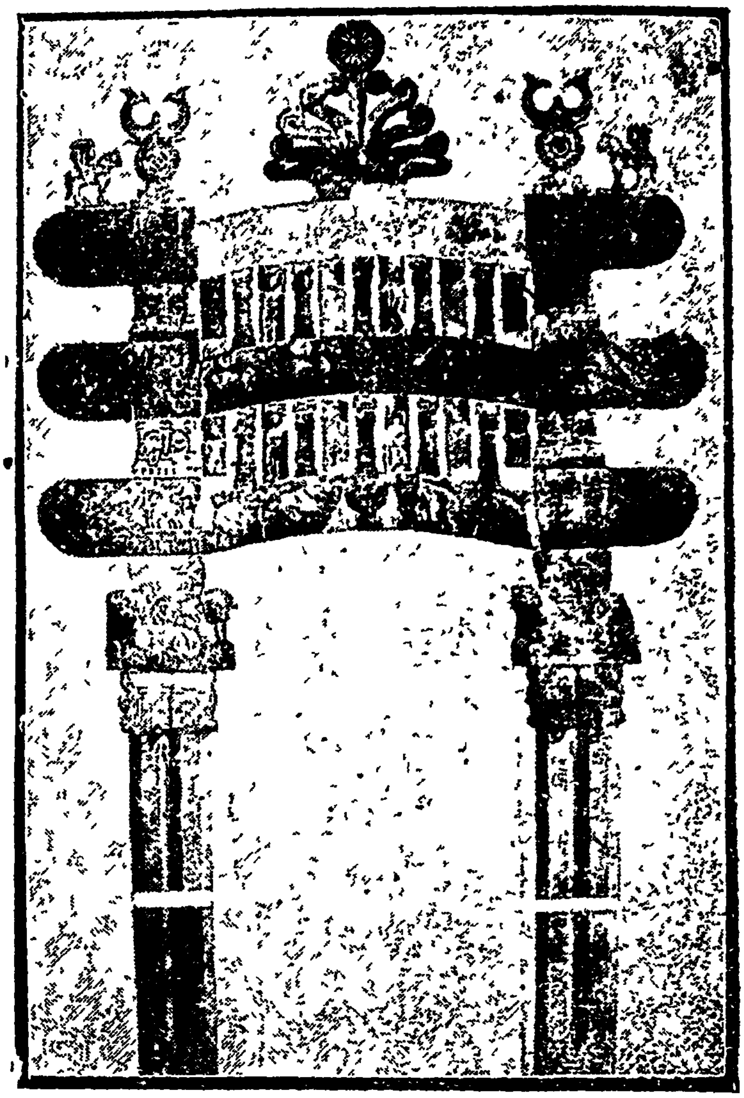
Mān–stambha

Fig 38] [Pp 173



Toraṇ–Entrance door of Sāñchī Stūpa

Fig. No. 39] [Vol I, Pp 189



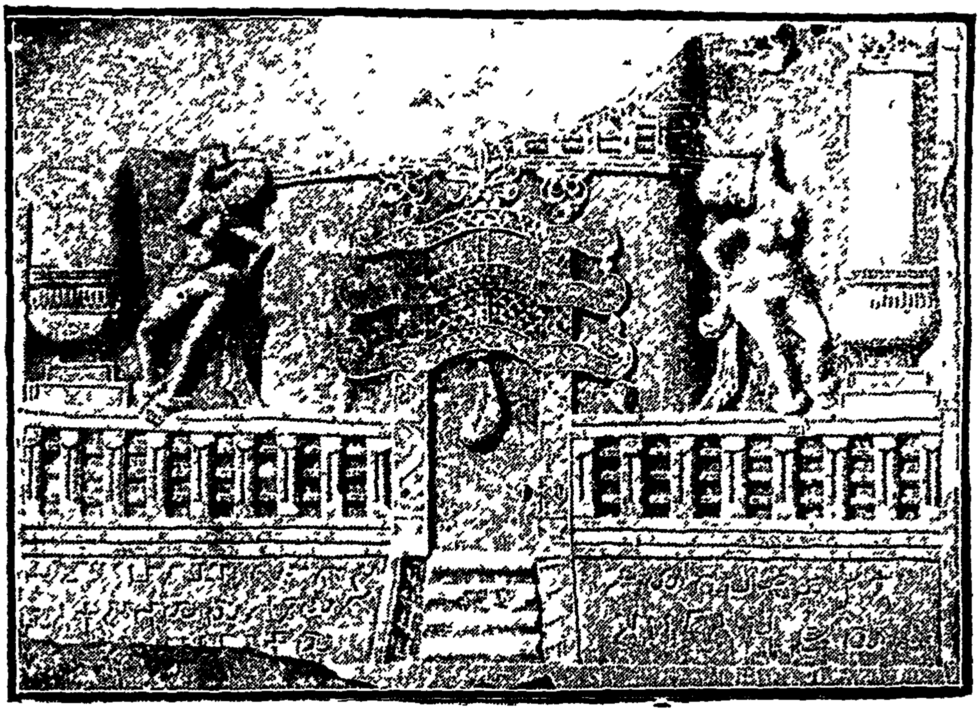
Toraṇ–Entrance door of Bhārhūt Stūpa

Fig No 40] [Vol I, Pp. 189



Toraṇ–Entrance door of Mathurā Stūpa

Fig. No. 41] [Vol. I, Pp 189



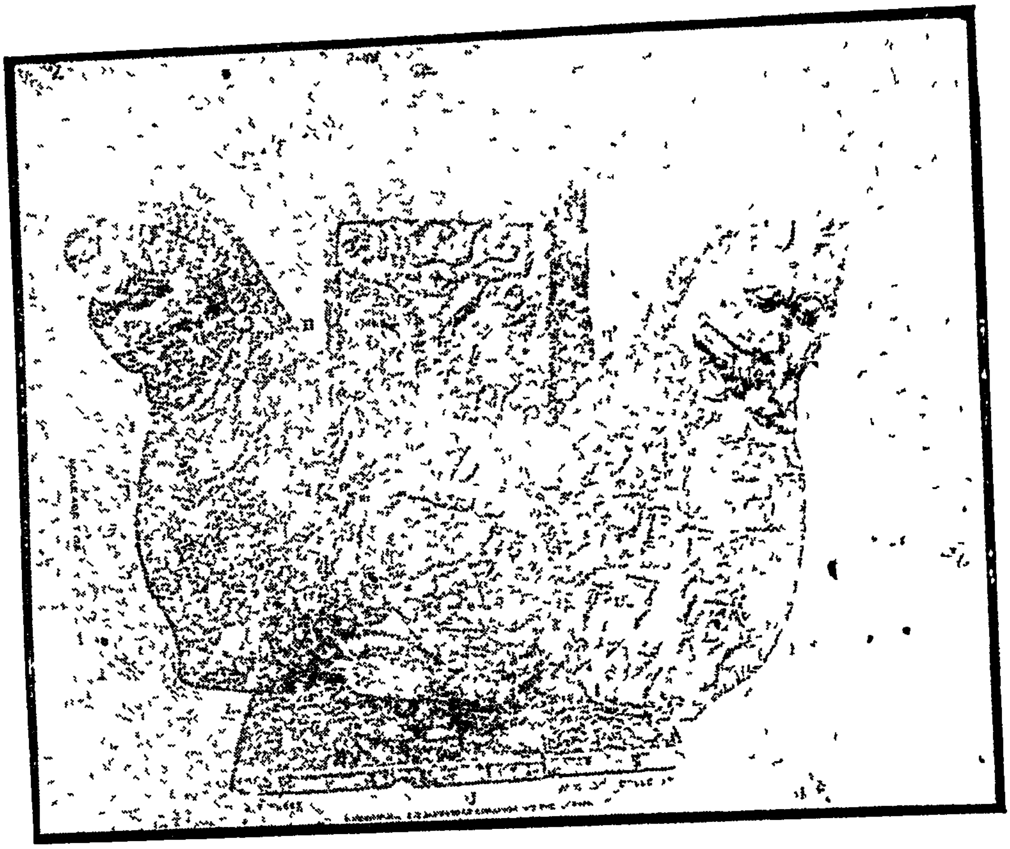
Āyāga-paṭ of Mathutā

Fig. 42] [Vide Vol. I, Fig. 35



Emp Priyadarśin

Fig. 43] [Vol II, Pp 261-2



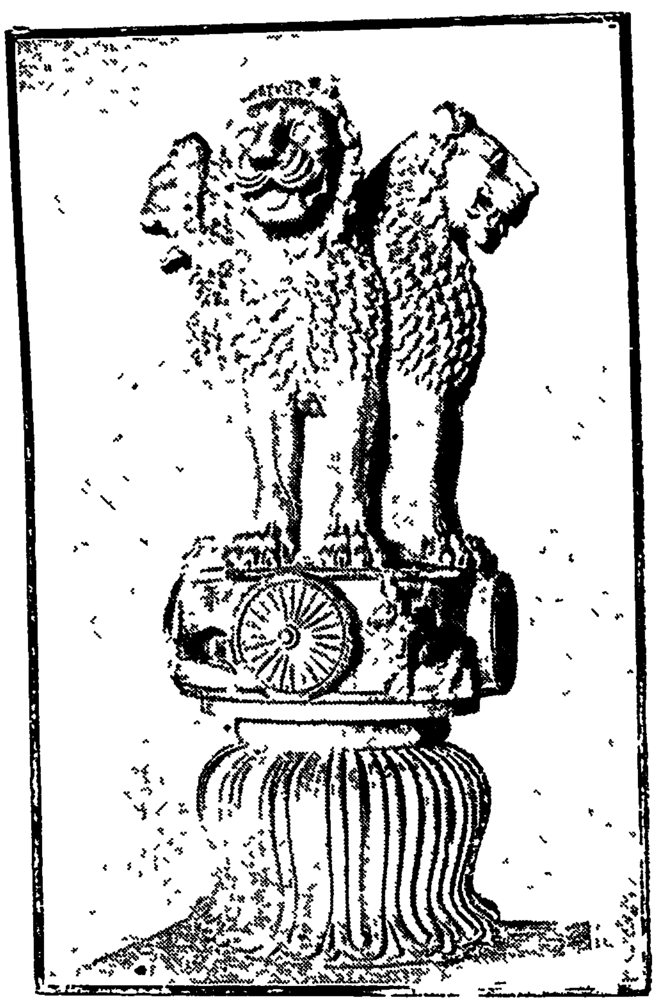
Mathurā Lion-Capital—pillar

Fig. 44] [Vol. III, Pp. 201



Sāñchī-pillar

Fig. 45] [Vol. I, Pp. 182



Sārnāth-pillar

Fig. 46] [Vol. I, Pp 103

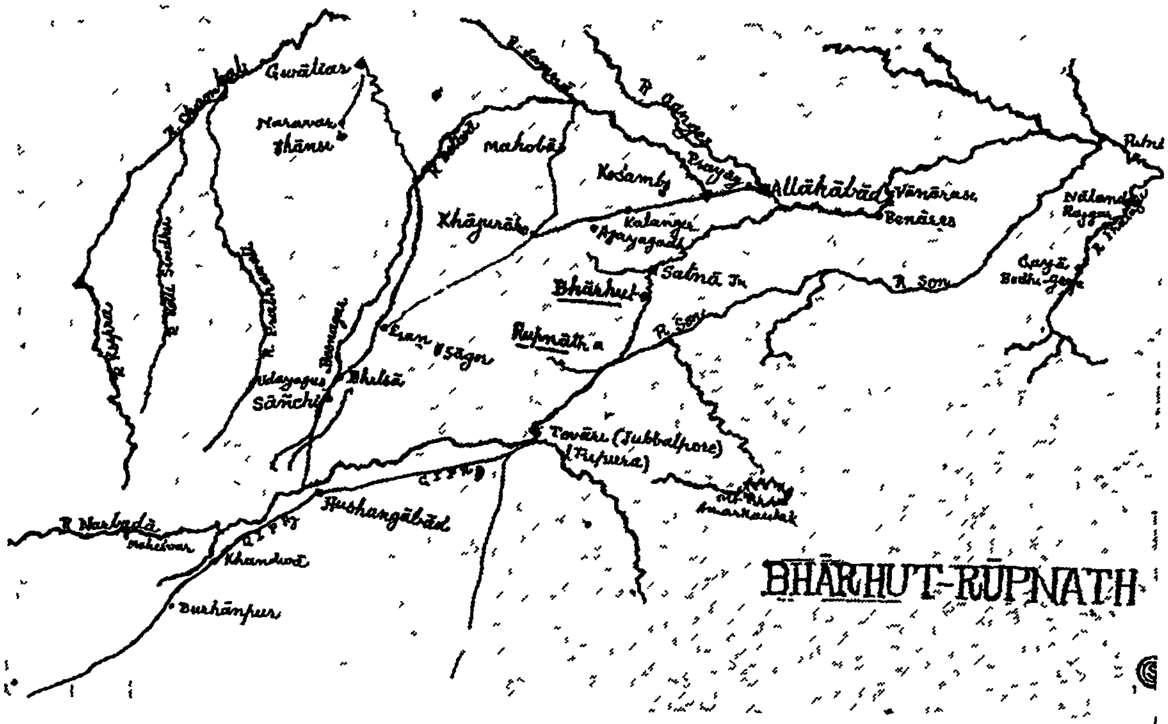


Fig No. 47] **Map** No. 2 [Vide indexes Vol. I & II

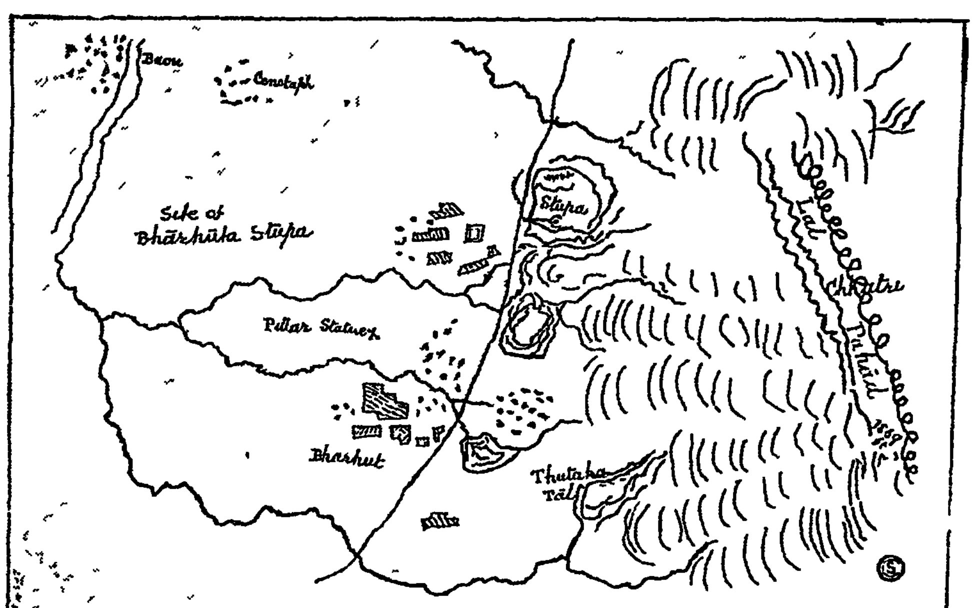


Fig No 48] **Map** No 3 [Vide Index Vol. I,



Fig. No. 49] **Map No** 4 [Pp. 32

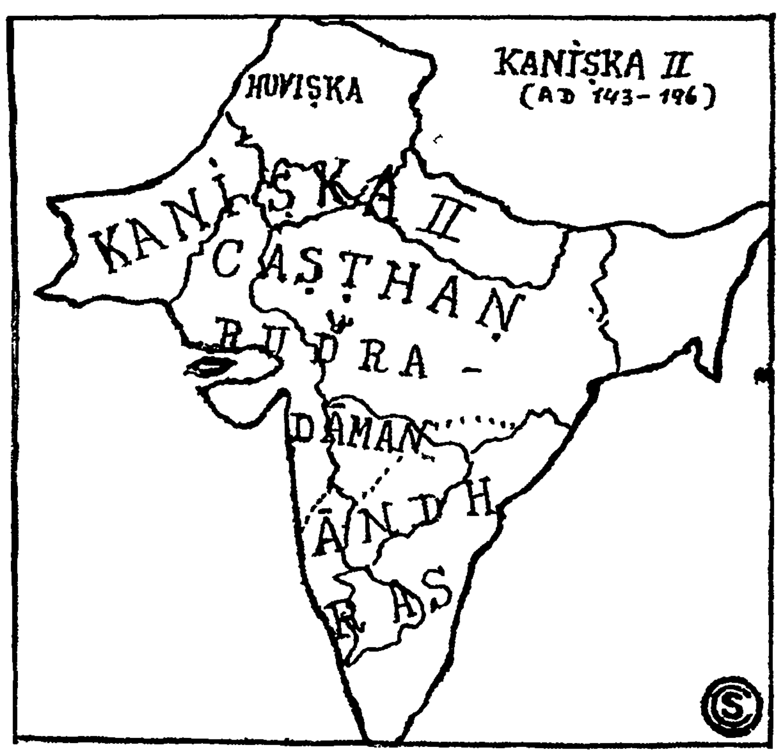


Fig. No. 50] **Map** No 5 [Pp 49 & seq

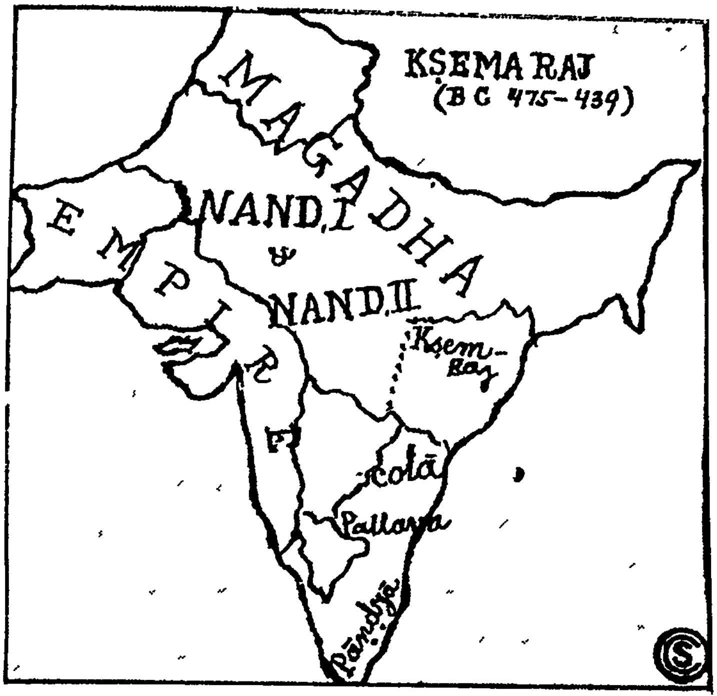


Fig No. 51] Map No. 6 [Pp. 104



Fig. No. 52] Map No 7 [Pp. 186 & seq.

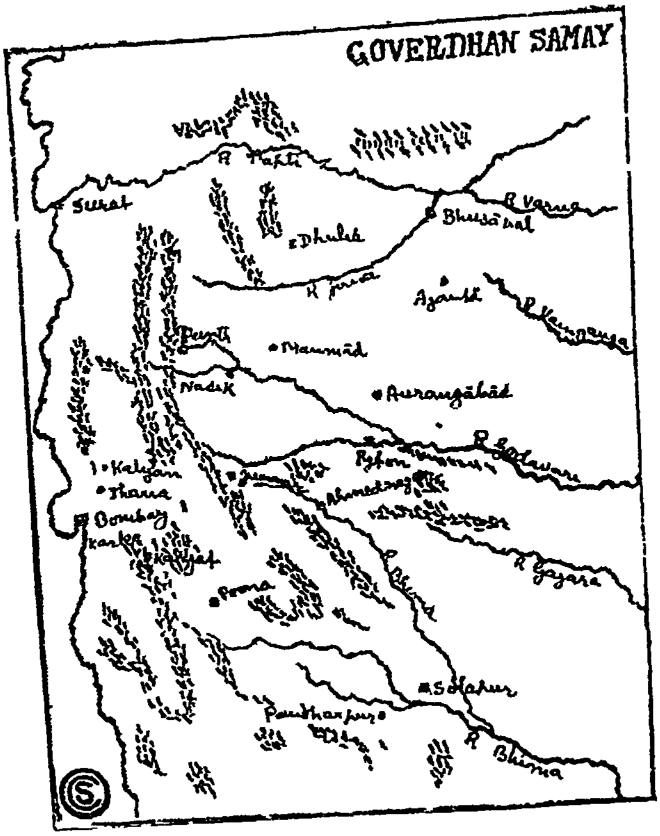


Fig. No. 57] **Map** No. 8 [Pp. 259

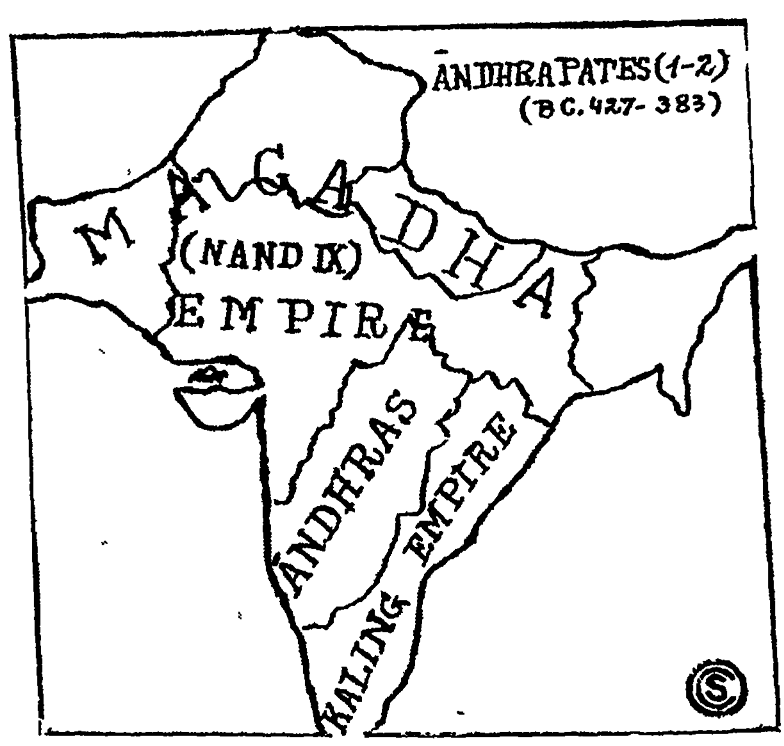


Fig. No. 61] **Map** No 9 [Pp. 331

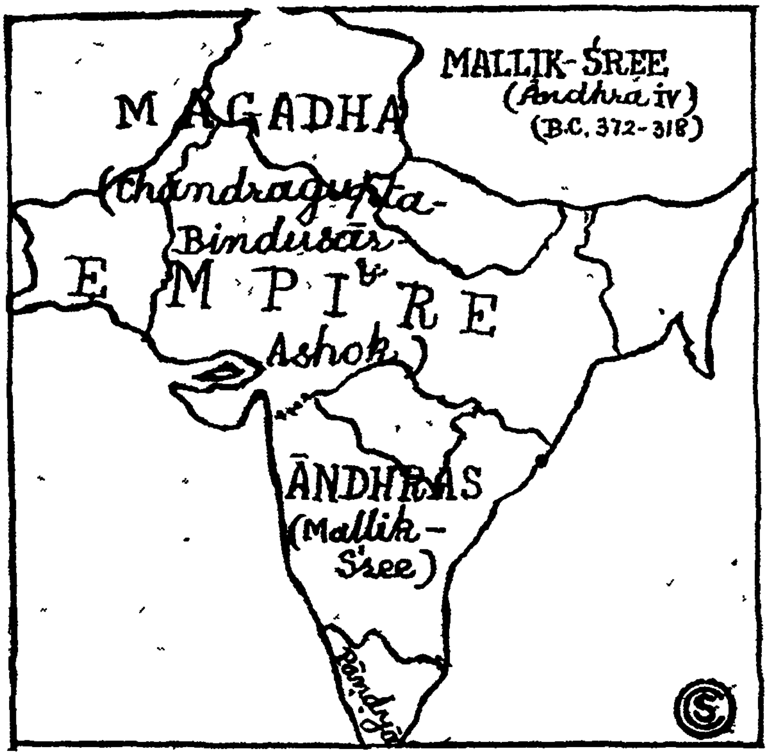


Fig No 63] Map No. 10 [Pp. 340-2

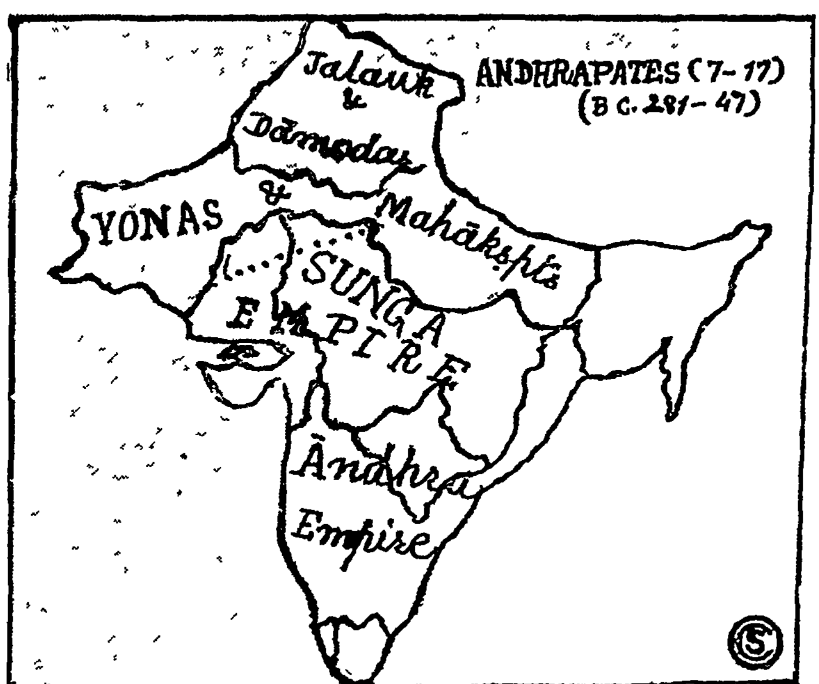


Fig No 65] Map No 11 [Pp 358 & 379

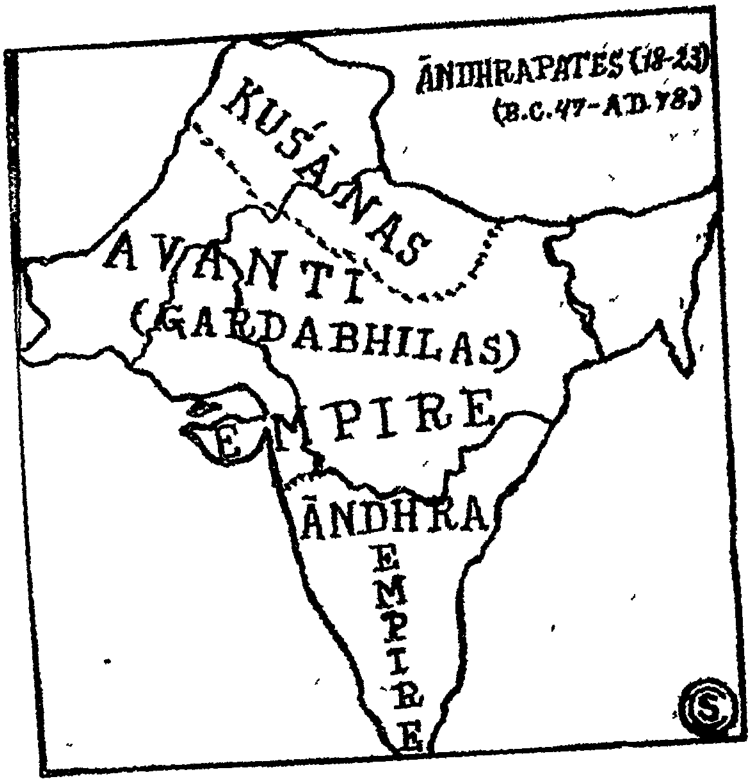


Fig. No. 69] Map No. 12 [Pp. 386 & seq.

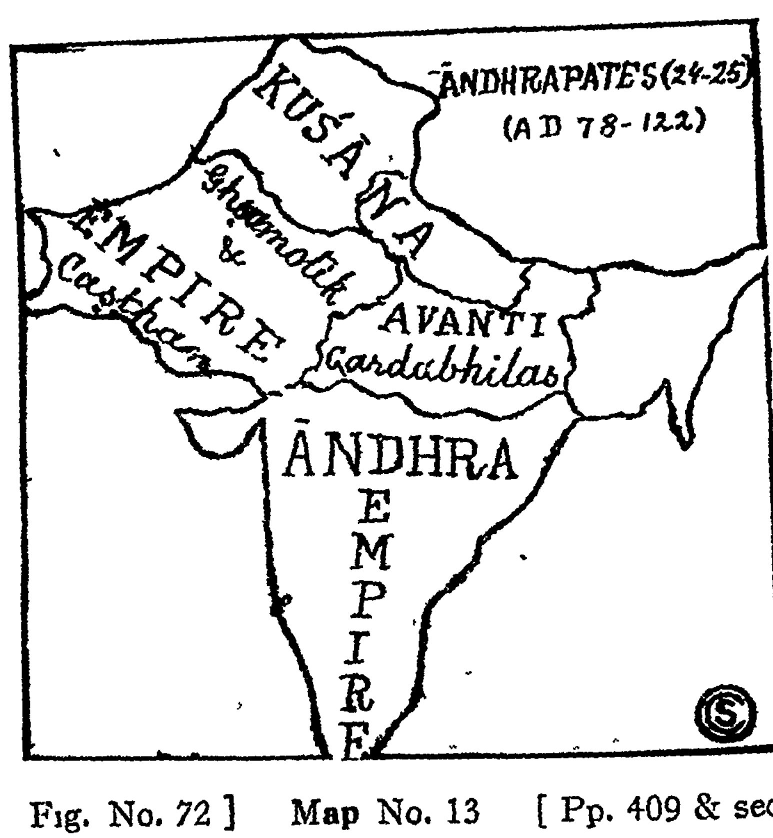


Fig. No. 72] Map No. 13 [Pp. 409 & seq.

INDEX

B

C

K

S

OPINIONS

Your book presents quite a novel aspect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay. **Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri** M. A. LL. B.

* * *

His judgements are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown.

Baroda **Keshavlal Himatram Kamdar** M. A.
Prof. of History, Baroda College

* * *

It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result and is therefore really praiseworthy.

Bombay **Vishvanath P. Vaidya** Bar-at-Law
(Director, Bhandarker Oriental Institute, Poona)

* * *

He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions mostly run counter to the accepted theories. Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and research; from which we may gain mnch good.

Oriental Institue, **B. Bhattacharya** Ph. D.
Baroda (Director)

* * *

I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on those is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologists.

Bombay **H. D. Velankar** M. A.
Professor, Wilson College

* * *

He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopaedia of Jainism, and with the due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as "Ancient India". Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum, **Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji** M. A.
Bombay Curator, Archeological Section (Now retired)

* * *

He has boldly advanced several new theories and he has supplied full evidence in support of them. He has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious, geographic and economic condition of ancient India. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies, and has based his conclusions on the evidence of coins, inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. His effort deserves encouragement from all quarters.

Baroda **Govindbhai H. Desai B. A. LL. B.**
(Ex. Naib-Dewan)

* * *

Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply deficiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory. Such efforts are rare and deserve all possible encouragement.

Bombay **H. G. Anjaria M. A.**
(Retired Principal, S. N. D. T. Women's University)

* * *

He has advanced new theories and he has given full evidence to prove them. Some of his conclusions are revolutionary. I wish Dr. Shah all success in his enterprise.

Bombay **Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia**
B. A. LL. B., Solicitor

* * *

I had been waiting long since, for an effort of this kind, and you can imagine my delight at the concretization of my desire.

Vallabhvijay Suri

* * *

Few will be able to render as much service to India as you. Such books are few and far between, and the more such publications are made, the better.

Muni Darshanvijay

* * *

The book will prove very useful and stimulating to all.

Vijayniti Suri

* * *

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and had gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.

Bombay **Sanj Vartaman**

* * *

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work, which is the outcome of many years of constant application. He has given us a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction.

The chronological lists of events given at the end of the book is sure to prove very useful. One such list was prepared by Grant Duff; but that was years ago. This is more detailed. The book contains, moreover, a number of pictures, maps and illustrations—an added attraction. His style his homely.

Ahmedabad **Prajabandhu**

* * *

Copious footnotes, chronological lists and index have made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely style of the author has laid the material within the rich of all.

The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.

Bombay **Janmabhumi**

* * *

One praiseworthy feature of the book is the maps of various countries and kingdoms. Another equally praiseworthy feature is the illustrations of ancient coins and other pictures, which are aptly designed to give us a panoramic view of ancient India as it really was. The picture of Sarasvati, giving us idea of the art of painting 2000 years ago, deserves special attention.

We congratulate Dr Shah for bringing to light things, which had hitherto been concealed in the womb of antiquity.

Bhavnagar **Jain**

* * *

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the perface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there.

Baroda **Nava-Gujarat**

* * *

None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism.

In fact, he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times.

The book is a great attempt to give a correct picture of India, as it was twenty-five hundred years ago. We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his marvellous effort and courage and hope that his services will be appreciated by all.

Bombay **Bombay Samachar**

* * *

This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics—old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners-Yavanas-have been handled with the precison of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and

furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume. Assiduity and research work cannot but be admired.

Calcutta **Modern Review**

* * *

The book is unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work, He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book, another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied

Karachi **Urmi**

* * *

He has advanced marvellously novel theories. The whole book sheds a new search light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differed from his predecessors. It deserves deep study by all students of history. Its homely style makes it interestingly readable to the general reader as well. It is full of maps and illustrations which are fully explained.

We offer our congratulations to the author for his deep knowledge of the subject and hope that no library will be without it.

Baroda **Sahityakar**

* * *

The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the period stated above. It is full of picture and illustrations of coins and maps. The book is specially important from the viewpoint of research work, and presents good material to all interested in the subject.

Bombay **Jain Prakash**

* * *

The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah. though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian history and culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Ahmedabad **Buddhiprakash**

* * *

Dr. Shah's achievement deserves full credit and support from all interested in the glory of ancient India, which is revealed in its true form, by the Doctor.

Bombay **Jay-Bharat**

* * *

His chronological scheme, apart from the pre-historic epochs, is made to run on two parallel wheels of Christian and the Mahavira eras. The conclusions suggested in this book require careful consideration, and the treatment is also worthy of critical notice at the hands of serious student.

His account of the Saka era and of the interpretation that might be given about its origin is interesting......The outline-maps showing the rule of the various foreign kings and also of Vikramaditya are bound to be useful. The conclusions are as usual prominently bold......Some of them are opposed to existing views but they all deserve, as we have mentioned before, the attention of the careful student.

Journal of Indian History C. S. S.
Annamalnagar

* * *

His work certainly contains novel and startling theories. But all these theories deserve full attention and need not be disregarded as unacceptable simply because they are new.

Bombay Gujarati

* * *

There seems almost everywhere the vast study, deep knowledge and lofty conscience devoted to the message of History. In our land, few writers try on such a grand and laborious scale to make the best of the foundation of the subject they choose. The readiness of Dr. Shah for the subject he has handled is praise-worthy, and his love of duty and deepness of labour are also more welcome. On account of this singularity, his publications have been able to put before us some such new materials and theories, which not only the oriental but also the western scholars have not yet touched. Such new treasure, concerning our ancient history, is to be found in this volume.

Ahmedabad The Review of Gujarati Literature

* * *

This volume covers 1000 years of Indian History from B. C. 900 to A. D. 100, which are described in the forward as 'the really formative period of the History of ancient India.' It is added that no really comprehensive work on this period exists–a claim with which the history-student will readily agree.

The book has an added interest in that, apart from Buddhist and Brahmanic sources which have to a certain extent already been exploited, Dr. Shah has been able to draw on Jain material so far unavailable. That he is in an excellent position to be able to do this, is proved by his 25 years' work on a Jain Encyclopædia. Since publication of this latter work has not been possible, he has written this history instead.

.. At least one feature of this book will startle history students and that is Dr. Shah's recalculations of ancient Indian Chronology.

M. H. B.

Bombay The Illustrated Weekly of India

* * *

Revolutionary theories on India's Ancient History

Dr. Shah has undertaken an almost superhuman task of investigating most of the established landmarks of a most eventful period in India's ancient history and of propounding some revolutionary changes in them.

......One can certainly commend Dr. Shah's tremendous labours and uncommon boldness in setting forth some novel conclusions.

History needs all workers and the whole truth of any period of history is never known until many have sought for it.

Bombay **Rao Bahadur G. H. Sardesai**

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Dr. Shah, the author is a medical practitioner, and it certainly does credit to his perseverance, zeal and love of historical studies that in the midst of his exacting preoccupations, he has been able to produce a work of this bulk and scope.

It is a scholarly work and statements made in it, are supported by proofs from coins, inscriptions and writings of old authors. It has roused of course, an amount of controversy, but all the same is a monumental work.

The **Bombay Chronicle**

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Epigraphic, numismatic and monumental sources have been sufficiently utilized by the author. The perseverance, zeal and love of historical studies of the author is really commendable. The footnotes he has given are helpful in elucidating facts that they are a special help to the reader.

Dr. Shah deserves the thanks of the Jain community, as well as archæological workers, for having done justice to such a dry and chronological subject.

The **Bombay Sentinal**

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The book bristles with many such new theories.

The book is an epoch-making publication.

Calcutta **Amrita Bazar Patrika**

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The whole work is based upon information which has not hitherto been exploited by historians and research scholars.

Although sceptics might hesitate to take in all that the author says, I personally do not disbelieve his theories.

Bombay **New book-Digest**
[The Editor]

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We have all got to expunge our accumulated knowledge of Indian History and start learning all over again. What we have been cramming at school and at college and rubbing into ourselves all these years, are now proved to be sheer balderdash.

We wish the author might live long to finish the arduous work which he has undertaken as a labour of love and create a genuine work for future historians.

It must also be mentioned here, that owing to the extreme importance of this work, and the brilliant new light it throws on the history of Ancient

India, it has been approved by the University of Bombay, sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction and recommended by all eminent scholars.

The **Zanzibar Voice**

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......We must throw overboard many preconceived notions about the history of 'Ancient India.'

......We have to learn much Indian History all over again. No longer are we to consider Sandrecottus the Magadhan Emperor, who met Alexander the Great (B. C. 327) as Chandragupta; the author of the Rock and Pillar edicts was not Ashok but Priyadarshin, who was quite a different person—these two names are generally associated with one person. Moreover, the inscriptions on those monuments have no reference to the glory of the Buddhist faith.

Lahore — The **Civil and Military Gazette**

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This is a novel work......The author's learning is wide, his patience is inexhaustible.

Bombay — The **Times of India**

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With the characteristic zeal of a medical man, he dissects and vivisects the sources in such a way as to present to the readers "bomb-shell like and astounding theories," either quite new or presented with a new garb.

One admirable feature of the book, is the inclusion of innumerable art plates of the architectural achievements of the epoch and the facsimile of the coins.

Calcutta — **Indian Review**

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Mr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah's work on Ancient India is an attempt to throw further light on Indian history from documents which, hitherto, have not been given the importance they seem to deserve.

The **Ceylon Observer**

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Dr. Shah is a Jain by religion and had had access to little-known, little-studied and somewhat inaccessible Jain works and manuscripts. A close study of these enabled him to produce a monumental work differing in many ways from orthodox historical works written by European orientalists in the middle and later decades of the last century and of the first decades of the present century.

We are quite sure the great spade work done by the learned author will provide a very sound basis for the future collection of historical data in relation to India of the times he treats of. We take this opportunity of congratulating the publishers, Messrs Shashikant & Co., of Baroda for producing a really fine illustrated work.

Tanganyika Opinion

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Revolution in Indian History

Prof. Shah's book explodes. most of the old theories about Ancient India. The whole work has been based upon information which hitherto has not been exploited by historians and research workers.

The Kenya Daily Mail

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......show much industry and wealth of material–literature, epigraphy and numismatics. The author is not an historian by profession, but he has made this study his own. Many may not agree with all his views, but these views are strikingly original and need careful consideration before they are accepted or rejected.

Calcutta　　The New Review

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The author, who has devoted many years of his life to an untiring effort after hunting and tapping all kinds of sources for material, has spared no pains to give a just and true picture of India that was two thousand years ago.

......his volumes will one day be regarded as heralds of a trüe picture of ancient Indian History.

Bombay　　The Free Press Journal

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......deserve careful consideration.

Madras　　The Mail

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......boldly sets fourth his views in a thoroughly independent spirit and with an amazing courage of conviction.

Madras　　The Hindu

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The book is copiously illustrated......Dr. Shah's work speaks of his untiring energy and enormous labour expended over the volume. It is creditable to him, therefore, to devote so much time in this matter.

Poona　　Oriental Literary Digest

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......One must admit that it is a vast store-house of valuable information, much of it practically unknown to the workers in the field of Indian History. Uptill now Jain literature has not been drawn upon as much as Buddhist and Vedic literature. That deficiency has been made good by the author.

Madras　　South Indian Teacher

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The great industry and zeal for research which the author has brought to bear on his undertaking deserve high praise.

Ranchi　　Man in India

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The book gives valuable information and adds to our knowledge.

Allahbad　　The Twentieth Century